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GDR, USSR Conduct Pact Military Exercises

LD1207161489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1527 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In accordance with the program of joint measures by the Warsaw Pact Joint Forces, a planned joint command staff exercise of the leading divisions of the USSR Western Group of Forces and the GDR National People's Army began today on GDR territory.

The exercise is headed by the commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Forces, Army General Petr Lushev. In the course of the exercise, ways to improve the training and cooperation between the units of the two allied armies are to be worked through. In content and character, the exercise corresponds to the tasks to be resolved, arising from the practical realization of the Warsaw Pact defense doctrine.

Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, is taking part in the most important parts of the command staff exercise.

GDR, CSSR, Poland Sign Environment Accord

AU0507133789 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 3 Jul 89 p 1

["Speech" by CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec at the signing of the tripartite CSSR-GDR-Polish agreement on cooperation in the sphere of the environment in Wroclaw on 1 July]

[Text] The Czechoslovak Government considers the signing of the tripartite agreement on cooperation in the sphere of environmental protection to be an important contribution to the strengthening of our traditional collaboration.

The agreement does not constitute only the expansion of our countries' collaboration by one more sphere. It expresses much more. Our political, economic, social, and cultural relations are acquiring a new, ecological dimension.

We value highly the adopted document for its comprehensive content, concreteness, long-term nature, and legally binding nature. It creates conditions for pooling the individual states' forces and resources in the interest of a joint procedure. **The CSSR is a proponent of an active and purposeful approach to the implementation of the idea of ecologically safer central Europe. We are in favor of coordinating endeavors aimed at purer air and water, more greenery, and healthy mankind in a living nature's organism. Our signatures and determination to implement the signed intentions create a good foundation for improving the situation—not only in the border areas, but also in a broader extent.**

We are convinced that in ecological issues a more distinct progress can be achieved only through close cooperation within the framework of the central European region and, gradually, the entire continent.

We consider the discussed agreement also to be another step toward the realization of the Czechoslovak initiative aimed at intensifying the comprehensive cooperation among the seven neighboring countries in protecting the environment. On this occasion I again proclaim our endeavor to arrive as soon as possible at a broad agreement on jointly solving ecological problems. In the spirit of good neighborly relations and strengthening mutual trust. In the interest of making joint use of the achievements of scientific-technical progress, modern technologies, and the material and intellectual potential.

On behalf of the Czechoslovak side I would like to thank to our Polish hosts for their initiative in preparing this important document.

Balkan Railroad Talks Start in Belgrade

AU1207082089 Tirana ATA in English 0741 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] Tirana, July 12 (ATA)—The meeting of railway general directors of the Balkan countries opened in Belgrade on July 11. It will tackle with the possibilities of intensifying regional cooperation in this field. It is held on the recommendation of the meeting of transport ministers of the Balkan countries, held in November last year.

This meeting is also attended by a delegation of Albanian Railway headed by general director Viktor Caprazi.

Zhivkov Greets Mitterrand on National Day

AU1707164989 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 Jul 89 p 1

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, State Council chairman, has sent a message to Francois Mitterrand, president of the French Republic, on France's National Day and the 200th anniversary of the Great French Revolution. The message addresses to the French people most cordial greetings and wishes for prosperity and progress.

On the days of this remarkable anniversary, we pay our respect to the French Revolution and its ideals of equality and fraternity, mutual understanding, respect, and constructive cooperation among peoples.

My strong impressions of our interesting and fruitful talks during your official visit to Bulgaria at the beginning of the year, and the present wonderful occasion, allow me to express my sincere conviction that the traditional relations of respect and sympathy between our peoples will continue to develop along an ascending line in the interest of peace, security, and cooperation, the message reads.

BCP Politburo Approves Pact Bucharest Session

AU1707181389 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 Jul 89 p 1

[BTA report: "At the BCP Central Committee Politburo—Toward a Peaceful, Safer, and More Democratic World"]

[Text] The Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] discussed and approved a briefing on the results of the conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact Member Countries, which took place on 7 and 8 July 1989 in Bucharest.

The activity of the Bulgarian delegation led by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and State Council chairman, was assessed highly.

The Politburo supported the tendency toward further strengthening the political character of the Warsaw Pact. It assessed as positive the usefulness of the exchange of opinions and experience that took place, related to the processes of renewal in the allied countries, and stressed that the discussion of these matters essentially enriched the practice of socialist construction in the fraternal countries, and that it will facilitate the solution of their specific and common problems.

The Politburo fully approved the balanced and realistic analysis of the situation in Europe and the world contained in the documents that were signed. Strengthening and accelerating the positive tendency in international life will further remain the allied countries' main task. Simultaneously, the Politburo shared the concern voiced at the meeting in connection with certain attempts to destabilize the situation in the separate socialist countries, including those in the Balkans, and asserted that those attempts are a part of more general plans aimed against socialism as a social system.

The Politburo approved the practical new steps aimed at strengthening security in Europe and throughout the world, eliminating the nuclear and chemical weapons, and conducting talks on tactical nuclear weapons, and reducing armed forces, weapons, and military budgets. It highly assessed the USSR's readiness to adopt new unilateral steps in the area of tactical nuclear weapons, if NATO agrees to negotiate on this matter.

The declaration of the Warsaw Pact member countries, signed at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee, reflects in the spirit of the new political thinking and in a synthesized manner the general views on the future of Europe and the world, it points out the roads toward the practical implementation of restructuring in interstate relations, and stresses all-European values and interests. The principles and tenets that will lead the allied countries in implementing their peaceful foreign policy occupy an important place in the declaration. The declaration also contains a constructive reply to the proposals reflected in the documents of NATO's 1989 Brussels session.

Considering issues of military cooperation within the Warsaw Pact framework, the Politburo pointed out that the transition toward the practical implementation of the principles of reasonable sufficiency that are incorporated in the defense strategy of the organization requires intensified cooperation within the framework of the Joint Armed Forces of the allied countries.

The Politburo noted with satisfaction that the sincere, friendly, and constructive spirit in which the meeting took place fully corresponds to the contemporary realities and the level of the allied socialist countries' relations. It approved the line of improving and democratizing the mechanisms of cooperation in all areas as a priority direction in the policy of the Warsaw Pact states.

Highly assessing the results of the Bucharest meeting of the Political Consultative Committee, the Politburo stressed that now the main efforts must be directed toward the practical implementation of its decisions. It expressed a deep conviction that the unity and cooperation of the Warsaw Pact member countries in implementing their noble goals in the international arena will facilitate the rapid solution of their urgent and responsible internal tasks. At the same time, the implementation of the ideas incorporated in the documents that have been adopted in Bucharest will represent a step along the road toward a peaceful, safer, and more democratic world.

Supreme Court Chairman Velinov Interviewed

AU1707113189 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 Jul 89 p 1, 3

[Interview with Ivan Velinov, chairman of the Supreme Court, by Tsvetana Tosheva, "RABOTNICHESKO DELO representative"; date, place not given: "The Court Is the Highest and Most Authoritative Instance of Legality"]

[Text] From ancient times until today people associate the court with the struggle for justice. The people both rely on the court and...use the court as a threat. They place their hopes in the court and...are afraid of it. The people respect the court as the highest guarantee of legality and treat it with the confidence of somebody who is entitled to his rights and expects them to be defended.

How does the court apply the laws, what new elements are being introduced by the legal reform in matters related to the work of the legal organs, why are people sometimes not satisfied with the legal judgements, what is the social status and self-esteem of the modern judge, what are his problems, and what is needed to strengthen and increase his authority—these and many other issues were touched upon in the conversation of Ivan Velinov, chairman of the Supreme Court of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and Tsvetana Tosheva, RABOTNICHESKO DELO representative.

[Tosheva] The July and December Plenums of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] posed the consolidation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria as a law-governed state as one of the most important social tasks. People usually associate the Supreme Court with the strongest guarantees of legality. Is this always confirmed by practice?

[Velinov] According to our country's Constitution, the Supreme Court is an organ that carries out the supreme judicial review of the activity of the district, okrug, and military courts, and the activity of special jurisdictions and administrative organs, when this is envisaged by the law. Perhaps this is why people associate it with the strongest guarantees of legality.

One of the basic means of supreme judicial review is reexamination, under the review procedure, of the implementation of the acts of the courts and the special jurisdictions, (such as the pension commissions, the Commission on the Law on Territorial and Settlement Urbanization, and so forth), and the acts of the state administration. The purpose of this institution is to cancel acts that are not subject to appeal, if they contradict the law or are incorrect. Therefore, unlike the procedure of appeal envisaged by the law, it is a special method of defense, which increases the guarantees of legality.

The Supreme Court receives annually almost 3,500 appeals in respect of criminal cases and almost 10,000 appeals in respect of civil and other cases. It appears that 3 percent of the appeals on criminal cases, and 18-20 percent of those related to civil cases are justified, and it is necessary for the Supreme Court to propose that the verdicts be quashed. The proposals are then reviewed by three judges in the form of a legal contest, with the participation of the parties in the case and a prosecutor. In about 95 percent of these cases positive verdicts are achieved.

After the 1984 legal reform, the number of proposals for reexamination under the review procedure that the chairman of the Supreme Court made to the municipal assemblies of the civil and penal collegiums, following verdicts by the Supreme Court benches of judges, has increased 4-5 times in comparison with the period before the reform. I think that this figure answers your question whether the Supreme Court creates firm guarantees of legality, including the legality of judgments reached by its own judicial benches.

[Tosheva] In the forthcoming legal reform the Supreme Court is undoubtedly one of the bodies whose voice should be heard loudest, so to speak, just as it has the last word in the dispensation of justice. Have you formed a personal view about the changes required, and is there already a collective opinion in the Supreme Court?

[Velinov] We have formed a concept on the legal reform as regards amendments to the legislation and changes in the organization and activity of the law-dispensing organs—the court, prosecutor's office, investigation organs, and so on.

Undoubtedly, one must in the first instance make the necessary amendments and additions to the Constitution, especially to Chapter 8, entitled "The Court and Prosecutor's Office." Having done this, it will also be necessary to draft new laws or make amendments to the existing laws that concern the work of these organs.

Supreme Court judges took specific part in preparing the draft concept. What are the ideas concerning the forthcoming change? First and foremost, a three-level court system is proposed to replace the existing two-level system. It is more than obvious that if appeals against court decisions pass through two higher courts instead of one (a court of appeal and a court of cassation), then the possibilities for defending people's rights and interests will be increased. If this idea is accepted, it will be necessary to set up a number of appeal courts, while the Supreme Court will become a court of cassation. Then the court system will look like this: regional [rayonni], oblast, and appeal courts, and the Supreme Court of Cassation.

Cases will thus be heard at two instances, and then by the Supreme Court, acting as a instance of control and revision. These changes will do away with the reexamination under the review procedure, which has now become an instance of a unique kind that causes cases to be greatly protracted. At the same time this change will also expand the element of contest in the judicial process and create greater guarantees of legality.

The conformity with the law of verdicts, judgments, and other acts will only be monitored by the higher court if they are appealed against or contested within the periods specified by the law. This will increase the stability of the legal acts that have come into force, which will then have to be executed without question, and will also increase the authority of the law and the court.

In the course of preparing the concept, a second alternative also cropped up, namely retention of the current court system and improvement of the reexamination under the review procedure.

[Tosheva] What is your opinion on "not guilty" verdicts resulting from court cases? What are the reasons for the infringements of citizens' rights that the acquittals subsequently restore?

[Velinov] In 1988 verdicts of acquittal were reached in 2.1 percent of cases at regional level, and in 4 percent of the cases heard by district [okruzhni] courts. They are undoubtedly an indication of a right infringed. However, despite this, it is much better for the court to issue a verdict of acquittal than to sentence an innocent man. As in every activity, mistakes may also be committed in the dispensation of justice. However, the problem lies in that the investigation organs, prosecutor's office, and the court would have to function impeccably at the different stages of the penal procedure and apply the law unconditionally in order for no one to be brought to trial without good reason. Then acquittals would only be issued in cases when fresh evidence is presented to the court by the defense or the prosecution that leads to a change in the factual circumstances of the case. If the defense is permitted to participate in the preliminary proceedings at an earlier stage than is the case at present, namely from the time of the detention or charging of the defendant, a possibility will be created to point out all the available evidence and demand that this evidence be collected by the investigator. The present opportunity for the defendant's attorney to take part in the presentation of the charge is not always taken advantage of and, even if it is, the participation is very often purely formal in nature.

Irrespective of the successes achieved by our system of justice, gross errors are committed in individual cases, and the rights of the parties to the case and the defendants are violated. This makes it necessary to further develop democratic principles in the dispensation of justice, namely the presumption of innocence, the principle of contest, democratic control over dispensation of justice (without interference in specific cases), and so on.

The provisions of the Constitution and the relevant laws undoubtedly create guarantees for equality. However, the law may remain merely on paper unless it is applied precisely and in the same manner in relation to all citizens. This is why its application must be entrusted to highly qualified, honest, incorruptible, and impartial lawyers. This creates full guarantees. At the same time it is necessary to guarantee the complete independence of the law-applying organs, especially the courts, against any kind of interference. It is unthinkable and impossible for the dispensation of justice to be subject to any kind of interference, no matter from what source. It is also necessary to raise the level of the citizens' legal education. They must know what rights and obligations they are granted by the law and demand that the law-applying organs defend these rights to the letter, because a right that is not protected by the law, however passionately and persistently one tries to defend it, will never and cannot be properly protected. This is proved by the fact that in 1988, for example, after appeals made against the decisions of regional courts 3.4 percent of the verdicts on civil cases and 2.9 percent of the verdicts on criminal cases were entirely quashed. Similarly, 4.9 percent and 7.7 percent respectively of the verdicts of district courts were quashed following appeals to the Supreme Court. It is well-known that there are always two parties to civil cases, and whatever decision is reached, one of the parties will not agree with it. Often the reproach is made against the courts that people are unhappy with some judicial act or other. Yes, this is true, but it could not be otherwise. The same is true of criminal cases. However, who, tell me, will be pleased with being sentenced, although he may admit his guilt? The point of the matter is that the dispensation of justice is an institution that will always be accompanied by dissatisfaction, because considerable numbers of people are affected by it, albeit legally. We should hardly be surprised at such negative attitudes, but we should not assess the courts on the basis of these attitudes.

[Tosheva] With a view to guaranteeing democracy more fully, don't you think that the number of judicial assessors should be increased in especially serious cases?

[Velinov] The further democratization of the dispensation of justice certainly requires a discussion of this issue. One should have to consider increasing not only the number of judicial assessors but also the number of judges who hear especially serious cases.

In the past few years cases reached the courts that involved considerable numbers of defendants (20, 30, or 50) and the misappropriation of very large sums (exceeding 500,000 leva). The evidence gathered in the preliminary investigation of such cases runs into a hundred or more volumes. The hearing of these cases by the courts of first instance usually takes a long time—3, 4, or 5 months. Many witnesses are examined, and many people appear to defend the accused, yet the whole process has to be discussed and evaluated by a 3-man bench, consisting of a judge and two legal assessors.

Yes, the number of judges should be increased, say, to three, and the judicial assessors from two to four. This expanded bench will be able to go into the case in greater depth and reach a better-grounded verdict. The same thing applies to the court of second instance that will hear appeals on such cases.

When the Supreme Court considers cases as a court of first instance, such as those involving crimes committed by members of the State Council, ministers, judges, prosecutors, investigators, and military servicemen holding higher posts, or when it takes over a serious case from a district or military court, such cases are examined by a 7-man bench, consisting of three judges and four judicial assessors. Our experience of this procedure has been positive. Practice shows that when the bench of judges includes qualified judicial assessors, even if they are not lawyers, they take an active part in deciding the case, particularly in matters concerning the defendant's guilt and determining his sentence.

[Tosheva] It is no secret that, irrespective of the proclaimed "untouchability" of the court and the free judicial conviction on the basis of which judgments are pronounced, interference in your affairs by various party and state organs does occur. It is true that the Supreme Court ranks quite high on the justice dispensation ladder, but all the same....

[Velinov] I have already pointed out that interference in the work of the courts is not only inadmissible, but also is a gross violation of socialist legality. The Constitution proclaims the principle that the judges and judicial assessors are independent and subject only to the law. Cases of interference in the work of the courts certainly exist in individual cases, some of which are even of a gross nature. However, this does not mean that influence is exerted on all judges in all cases, as claimed in the generalized conclusion made once on our television that "the judges' work is meddled with." It is accepted to say, and your question is put in the same way, that there is interference in the work of the courts on the part of party and state organs. At the same time no attention is paid to one of the dangerous negative phenomena in Bulgaria, namely that of intercession. The most varied people engage in intercession in the most varied ways, directly or through another party. We should discuss the drafting and adoption, as in the Soviet Union, of a Law on the Status and Protection of the Court, that also includes provisions for severe prosecution in cases of interference in the courts' work. The Supreme Court, which stands at the top of the ladder of justice, is also threatened by such attempts. We have always reacted strongly against them, even this often results in "expressed dissatisfaction," in some cases accompanied by slanders and insults, or yet again by "competent assessments" of our work as a whole or of individual judgments. People who solicit and intercede fail to take into account that by their unjustified demands they really want, whether consciously or not, to illegally violate social interests or rights and the interests of the other parties in a specific case. However unpleasant it may be for you, while we are on this subject I want to point out that certain mass media also commit similar actions through their published reports or transmissions.

The requirements and responsibilities relating to the judges, prosecutors, and investigators must be exceptionally demanding, but defending them against slanderous, offensive, or other actions of the kind contained in some applications, appeals, and letters sent to the Supreme Court, central party and state organs, and editorial offices must also be reliably guaranteed. The approach is quite wrong of some organs that send these complaints to the courts, prosecutors' offices, and investigation departments, demanding that an examination should be carried out and explanations given on the subject matter of such complaints. Such organs are really violating one of the basic principles in our system of justice, according to which anyone who makes an allegation is required to prove it. Apart from this, the Law on Applications, Complaints, and Warnings does not apply to the organs dispensing justice, because their activities are covered by the procedural laws. It is inadmissible for administrative organs to interfere in whatever form in the work of the courts. What is more, the July and December Plenums of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party correctly adopted the line that the activity of the state organs should be placed under judicial control, that is, the acts of the state administration should be subject to appeal to the courts, following the procedure established by the law.

[Tosheva] What certain guarantee for the independence of the courts is provided outside the laws and the Constitution?

[Velinov] I would like to draw attention to the social security of the judges, because their task of resolving judicial disputes requires that they should not find themselves in any form of dependence in relation to their own social problems, such as housing, providing work for members of their families, finding places for their children in kindergardens or creches, using transport for official duties, and so on. It is true that the party and state, bearing in mind the nature and demands of the work carried out by judges, have paid serious attention to these questions, including the salaries of judges and prosecutors, but they have not been completely resolved, and this is one of the main reasons for the unwillingness of many lawyers, particularly the young ones who have just qualified, to take posts as judges, prosecutors, or investigators. With the current serious shortage in legal personnel, many prefer to receive the same or a higher salary for easier and less responsible work. We are experiencing the same difficulties with the Supreme Court staff. These issues must also be resolved, in order to make judicial work attractive for many qualified lawyers.

[Tosheva] What is the salary of a Supreme Court judge?

[Velinov] Up to 470 leva.

[Tosheva] What about the district and regional judges?

[Velinov] Their respective salaries do not exceed 390 and 290 leva, if they are leading judges, and are much lower in other cases.

[Tosheva] It seems to me that in comparison with other categories of labor, this remuneration is not in line with the demands of the job, the qualifications, and high responsibility that the judges have to bear....

[Velinov] I agree with you.

[Tosheva] What is the average age of the Supreme Court judges? Do you protect yourselves against young cadres? How old is the youngest judge? How many women are there?

[Velinov] The average age of the judges in the Supreme Court is about 55 years. We have one judge who is 39 years old, and another who is 70. On a world scale, the average age is usually higher than in Bulgaria. However, we believe that by the present cadre policy we are providing the experience, professional qualification, and wisdom of the long-serving judges as a favorable basis for training their younger colleagues. Of the 66 members of the Supreme Court, 14 are women. I often hear it said that "there are many women judges, the profession is being taken over by females," or "aren't there a lot of women in the Supreme Court?" I do not think there are many, and such views remind one of bourgeois Bulgaria, when women did not have the right to practice the legal profession. What is more, practice shows that some of them are fully equal to their male colleagues. I would like to give many such examples in the entire judicial system, besides the Supreme Court, but you realize yourself that this is both unnecessary and inconvenient.

[Tosheva] What is your attitude to the death penalty?

[Velinov] The death penalty is provided in Bulgaria as an extreme measure that is only applied in the case of especially serious crimes against the People's Republic. The Supreme Court often receives letters and statements from citizens who think that we have wrongly confirmed sentences for serious violations against social and private property, for manslaughter and serious bodily harm to large numbers of people by drivers of vehicles guilty of serious offenses, especially in an intoxicated condition, instead of imposing a death sentence. However just these demands may be, the court cannot respect them, because the law does not permit the death penalty to be imposed in such cases.

The question of abolishing the death penalty has been under discussion for a long time. There have been a large number of articles and items published in Bulgaria both for and against. This question is also being discussed in a number of other countries. The pronouncement of a death penalty by a bench of judges is no easy matter. Judges are also people, with their own awareness, mental make-up, and sensitivity. It cannot be said that they deliver a sentence of death without feeling pain.

However, the existence of serious, unjustified, and vulgar murders, often carried out for no reason for hooligan motives, following brutal rapes and using especially cruel and painful methods of killing, accompanied in some cases by serious robberies by persons with long criminal records who do not engage in socially useful labor and who live at other people's expense, demands that the death penalty be retained, at least for the time being. As has been the case in the past, one should consider it as an extreme measure, to be used only after a rigorous and strict assessment. Incidentally, the penal policy on this issue is defined most tangibly by the State Council, which gives an opinion on all death sentences. During the last 8 years the State Council has changed only two death sentences to 20-year terms of imprisonment, and did this on humanitarian grounds. I venture to claim that the penal policy is fair.

[Tosheva] Article 97 of Decree No 56 on Economic Activity for the first time created substantial powers for the Supreme Court. How will the court implement these powers?

[Velinov] These powers concern the following: the competence of the Supreme Court to repeal normative acts of the Council of Ministers and other state organs that are subject to the law and contravene the above decrees [word as published]. A number of stipulations in the two decrees created new powers for the district courts concerning the registration, declaration of insolvency, and liquidation of companies and other enterprises. This means that some of these acts are subject to appeal or may be contested by the prosecutor's office at the Supreme Court, while others will be subject to examination under the review procedure. In cases where the disputes are heard by regional and district courts, the Supreme Court carries out a judicial review by setting aside the verdicts of these courts that have come into force, through reexamination under the review procedure. The cases relating to repealing normative acts and verdicts are formed after an application by the interested parties or following a proposal by the Chief Prosecutor's Office. The Supreme Court has no right to initiate proceedings itself. The hearing and deciding of such cases is carried out entirely according to the Law on Organization of the Courts and the Code of Civil Procedure.

[Tosheva] What are your views on the standard of legal education of the Bulgarian? Do you consider that it is sufficiently high to permit us to establish ourselves as a law-governed state?

[Velinov] This matter cannot be covered by a brief answer. A presumption exists that citizens are obliged to know the laws and apply them from the day that they come into force. Normative acts usually come into force 3 days after their publication in DURZHAVEN VESTNIK, unless another date is explicitly specified.

When it is necessary to make preparations for applying a law or to give the organs that have to apply it, the citizens, and the socialist organs the chance to thoroughly study it, a period longer than 3 days is provided. This having been said, the presumption that citizens must be cognizant of the laws is not always confirmed.

This is why it is necessary to publish adopted laws and other normative acts in good time in the required number of copies, because publishing them in DURZHAVEN VESTNIK alone is not sufficient. The publication of Decree No 56 on Economic Activity and Decree No 922 on Use of Land and Implementing Economic Activity in the press, including in RABOTNICHESKO DELO, proved very beneficial, as it created an opportunity for all readers to quickly acquaint themselves with normative acts of particular importance for completing the restructuring in agricultural work.

When we speak of citizens' legal education, we are thinking of both the officials who will apply the normative acts and the entire population. Increasing the standard of legal education is one of the important preconditions for establishing the People's Republic of Bulgaria as a developed law-governed state. The lawyers' great obligations regarding explaining the laws and other normative acts by using the most varied forms and means, including the mass media, stem from this. I believe that what has been done so far by both the lawyers and the mass media is quite inadequate.

In my view, more time and place should be given to these issues by all the mass media, and that highly qualified lawyers should expand their participation in the media. Of course, Bulgarian court lawyers and legal consultants also have an important role in this connection. Their chief task should be to act as legal advisers to the citizens and organizations they serve, without which it is impossible to maintain socialist legality.

[Tosheva] Do you find that the items published in the mass media represent an interference in the court's work? In a preliminary conversation the matter cropped up that journalists throughout the world are permitted to publish reports both during the investigation and the hearing of a case, and the court is influenced by this. The firm position of the law-protection organs in Bulgaria has been elevated to the status of a legal provision, and we have been subjected to a certain ban.

[Velinov] The reports in the mass media on the work of the courts must be specifically examined and assessed. Some of them faithfully and fairly reflect the work of the court. These are undoubtedly useful, and we will continue to need such reports in the future. However, some other reports are prepared without an in-depth investigation and without being preceded by checks; these reports are not objective, principled, and timely, especially when they relate to specific cases.

I must point out that some reports definitely contain the complaints and appeals for review that are sent to the courts, including to the Supreme Court. Such publications should not be permitted, because, however conscientious the author is, in the last event they contain the thesis of only one side of the case. This is all very well, but the reader should also acquaint himself with the thesis of the opposing side, as is done in court, after which one should skillfully, objectively, and impartially reach conclusions about the truth.

Furthermore, one cannot allow cases to be decided in the pages of newspapers and journals, because under the Constitution and the laws the only competent organ in Bulgaria is the court. As well as this, I would also point out that even more inadmissible are reports that contain slanderous, lying, unverified, and even insulting descriptions relating to the court and the other law-dispensing organs.

The Decree on Work With Critical Publications issued by the State Council decrees the following: "In critical published articles no viewpoint may be adopted on the essence of judicial cases before the judicial verdict has come into force." Initially the mass media have been observing this instruction, but the instruction is being breached in individual instances relating to specific cases. The sense of this instruction is to prevent any influence on the court through such published articles and reports before the outcome of the dispute, while it is still undecided. This is correct because, when a published article or report reflects only the proposition of one side in the case, it deliberately or unconsciously places the opposite party in the case in a more unfavorable position, irrespective of whether the published article or report aimed to influence the bench of judges or not in reaching their verdict. This leads to a violation of one of the basic principles of dispensing justice, namely the equality of the parties. It should not be forgotten that public opinion may exist, but there also exist public passions. Articles and reports published before judgment is reached sometimes arouse passionate beliefs, according to which an uncondemned man is already a criminal. However, no one except the judge has the right to make such appraisals, otherwise the presumption of the accused's innocence is violated.

Of course, there are things permitted by the legislation in the opposite sense. There is no ban on journalists publishing materials in the course of a trial, while the case is still being heard. However, this wider opportunity is accompanied by more stringent responsibility for such published items; there is a possibility of a journalist being legally prosecuted, disciplined, or fined if the published article or report has not objectively and faithfully reflected the facts of the case, injures the prestige and authority of the judge, or affects the honor and good name of the citizens involved in the case. Incidentally, such issues should be a subject of discussion when the Law on the Press is drafted and adopted in Bulgaria.

With regard to published articles and reports on cases in which the judicial verdicts have already been enacted, we regard them as warning signals relating to the meaning of the law, and the Supreme Court carries out review proceedings on them, calling for the materials of the cases in question. Such matters are not decided by the usual three-man bench that is used for reaching decisions on the review correspondence gathered together in the

Supreme Court, but are examined at an enlarged meeting. When there are grounds for reexamining a case under the review procedure, a proposal is made for this, but when it is considered that the published report or article is not well-founded, a resolution is passed to ignore it.

In conclusion, I would like to emphasize that the further building up of Bulgaria as a developed law-governed state largely depends on whether we make the court a completely independent, highly competent, and impartial organ that is subject only to the law, introduce wide glasnost into judicial work, and create sure and real guarantees for the judges' independence and impartiality. The judges must have society's constant support, to enable them to create an atmosphere in the framework of real democracy, so that criminal elements do not show themselves, and the citizens can fully and freely exercise their rights and freedoms. However, this is possible only if an uncompromising campaign is waged against negative phenomena in order to create order, good organization, and discipline everywhere and in everything.

[Tosheva] Comrade Velinov, I would like to put a specific question on this matter. The creation of order, good organization, and discipline everywhere and in everything, especially now, when a massive anti-Bulgarian campaign is being developed against our country, is unthinkable without strictly and unswervingly observing the laws. What is the role of the law-dispensing organs in this respect?

[Velinov] Your question is well justified. The role of these organs has been increased because one of the basic tasks of jurisprudence now is to defend the socialist social and state order, socialist property, life, liberty, honor, and the rights and legitimate interests of the citizens and socialist organizations, as well as to help to prevent crimes and other violations of the law. The law-dispensing organs are in a position to ensure the precise, undeviating observance of the law by all citizens, both Bulgarian and foreign, and to punish all offenders in accordance with the law.

Correction: Army Daily on Warsaw Pact's Role

AU1207132589

The following correction pertains to the item published in the 12 July East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 2, column two, headlined "Army Daily Outlines Pact's Past, Future Role": Paragraph two, line 14 make read: ...economic, moral, and political victory over fascism won by the Soviet warriors.... (correcting word "fascism")

Commentary Criticizes U.S. Aid for Poland

AU1707164189 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Jul 89 p 4

[Alexander Belovic commentary: "A Few Scattered Dollar Crumbs; At the Very End of G. Bush's Visit to Poland"]

[Text] At the first joint session of the Polish Sejm and Senate, as is already well known, U.S. President George Bush announced that he means to set up a fund totaling $100 million, a fund which is, however, intended to support the exclusive development of the private sector of the Polish economy. We contemplate the real meaning of this promise.

This was a visit made by the most senior representative of the world's richest country, a country which has no knowledge of the horror of wars and which has only made a profit out of the poverty and suffering of others. For example, I have in mind here the First and Second World Wars, the sale of weapons to countries which are often involved in a conflict with one another, the neocolonialist plundering of developing countries, and so on. In the years 1980-84 alone, for example, the United States grew richer by $80 billion per annum at the expense of developing countries. In American vocabulary this is called "mutual aid."

It is well known that the U.S. Administration introduced restrictive measures against Poland in 1982. The U.S. share in the overall value of Polish imports slumped from 6.1 percent at the end of the 1970's to 1.3 percent in 1982, and to 0.6 percent in 1986. As a consequence of the "sanctions" which were organized by the U.S. Administration, in which other industrially advanced capitalist countries also took part under pressure from the world's leading imperialist power, the Polish economy incurred direct losses which amounted to $15 billion. This was also negatively reflected in Poland's economic growth where, as a result of this and other reasons, it has so far not been possible to achieve the per-capita level of the 1978 gross domestic product.

It is also well known that Poland's indebtedness to capitalist countries and their financial institutions has already reached a level of $39 billion. At present, for every billion borrowed it pays $100 million in interest, and there were years when the interest rate in capitalist banks reached 15-16 percent and more. Therefore, I would like to stress that the Polish working man has already paid these promised $100 million many times over to the capitalist banks.

Now there is bashful silence about the real friends of the Polish working people. And not only silence. It has come about that in some places the graves of Soviet soldiers have been desecrated, graves belonging to the 360,000 soldiers who perished while liberating Poland from German fascism. The organizers of these shameless acts have obviously "forgotten" the horrors of Auschwitz.

Now a few facts on the Soviet Union's aid to Poland, which are given without my paying detailed attention to the development of their cooperation in the years 1944-1980. In 1981-82 the USSR gave Poland a nonrepayable loan amounting to $465 million for the urgent payment of imports of some important goods from capitalist states and, besides this, it provided Poland with credit to purchase goods in the USSR with a value of more than R6 billion.

According to the English magazine THE ECONOMIST, during the years 1976-80 the CEMA European member countries have saved $50 billion (I estimate Poland's share to be around $16 billion) by importing Soviet oil and raw materials, in comparison with having to buy them on capitalist markets. Even now, when prices of raw materials on world markets have fallen, a relative annual saving accrues from the purchase of oil in the USSR; for example, this represents a saving of around Kcs27 billion for the CSSR. (SOCIALIST ECONOMIC INTEGRATION, No 9, 1988). As the importing of oil and oil products into Poland is approximately equal to CSSR imports (17.7 million tonnes in 1986) it is possible to assume that Poland also makes this saving. The Soviet Union could also have sold these raw materials for higher quality goods than it receives from the other CEMA countries.

As a consequence of historical development, many years of war, high defense expenditures, and for other reasons, there is a lower standard of living in the Soviet Union than in Poland. When we consider from this point of view the advantages (of which I could mention considerably more) arising for Poland out of cooperation with the USSR, then the $100 million promised by Bush, even if it had been heralded by angels and given a fanfare on golden trumpets, would still sound like a handout to a beggar, from whose labor I had also grown rich.

Creating conditions for peaceful and productive work has acquired a special significance for Poland. No material gains are made by demonstrations and strikes. Should 3 months of annual working time continue to be lost annually (for example, as happened in Gdansk in 1987) and should the number of people employed in Polish industry, construction, transport, and commerce continue to be reduced by around 150,000 annually (in 1988), then no amount of speculation will secure the necessary certainties of life for all of the Polish working people. Therefore, it is necessary to agree with the speech made on Polish television at the beginning of July 1989 by Comrade M. Rakowski, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, on the need for the unity of rights and obligations in practice, which is along the most important road leading away from the present economic and political situation facing our northern neighbors.

CPCZ, Government Approve Pact Summit Results

AU1707201189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
15 Jul 89 p 1

["On the Session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact States"]

[Text] Prague—The Presidium of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee and the CSSR Government discussed a report on the course and results of the session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member states, which was held in Bucharest on 7-8 July. They approved the course of the Czechoslovak delegation headed by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and approved the statement "For a Stable and Secure Europe, Free of Nuclear and Chemical Weapons; for a Substantial Reduction of Armed Forces, Armaments, and Military Expenditure," as well as the communique. They fully identified with the common standpoints of the fraternal countries on the internationa issues discussed, and expressed their firm determination to consistently realize the tasks determined at the session.

In the Warsaw Pact, the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the CSSR Government see an important international-political factor which is of fundamental importance for both the European and worldwide security and stability. They stressed the indispensable importance of the active policy of the socialist states and the actions of all peace- and realistic-minded forces, through whose merit one has succeeded in achieving certain positive changes in international developments. They noted with satisfaction that a reduction of tension and confrontation is occurring in the world, trust is increasing, political dialogue is developing, and contacts among states and nations at various levels are intensifying. They consider the fact that the first concrete steps in the sphere of disarmament have been taken to be of particular importance. They welcome the promising development of the Vienna talks on conventional forces in Europe and confidence-building measures and security. They consider the achievement of results at those deliberations, as well as the reduction and elimination of tactical nuclear weapons, to be the key issue of security and stability in Europe.

At the same time, they noted that the favorable changes have not yet become irreversible, and that the situation in the world remains complex and contradictory.

They attach particular importance to the assertion of the agreed line and the concrete steps contained in the statement. The document orients the allied countries toward doing all they can to strengthen peace, rid mankind of the threat of war, and develop extensive, mutually advantageous international cooperation.

In accordance with that, Czechoslovakia will actively press to have disarmament become an uninterrupted and irreversible process, to have security ensured through political and not solely military means, to bring about the rejection of confrontation and hostility, and to develop the policy of friendship, cooperation, and mutual understanding. The Czechoslovak initiative aimed at establishing a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborliness along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact member states and NATO provides an extensive opportunity to assert jointly agreed objectives. Czechoslovakia will continue to actively participate in deepening the coordinated foreign policy with the allied countries, and contribute to further strengthening the unity and cohesion of the Warsaw Pact states, and to deepening and improving mutual cooperation in all spheres.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the CSSR Government have charged the pertinent party and state bodies with elaborating the conclusions of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member states and ensuring their implementation in the appropriate spheres.

Krumnikl Ends USSR Visit, Returns Home

AU1707151389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
14 Jul 89 p 7

[CTK report in the "24 Hours Abroad" column]

[Text] Antonin Krumnikl, CSSR minister of fuel and power, on Thursday [13 July], concluded his visit to USSR gas industry projects which are being carried out on the basis of the CSSR-USSR intergovernmental agreement, and returned home. He inspected, among other things, the important Ural Gas Complex in Karachaganak.

Deputy Premier Zak Visits Beijing, Dalian

AU1407142989 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
13 Jul 89 p 7

[CTK report: "From Beijing to Dalian"]

[Text] Beijing, Dalian—Yesterday morning, Jaromir Zak, deputy CSSR premier and chairman of the State Planning Commission, continued the second day of his working visit to the People's Republic of China by holding talks with Zheng Tuobin, foreign economic relations and trade minister, and Huang Yicheng, minister of energy resources. Both sides considered the good results so far of the bilateral exchange of goods and economic cooperation in various spheres and the prospects for exchanges and other forms of cooperation for the year 1990. Commercial and political discussions on the exchange of goods and wages for next year, according to Minister Zheng Tuobin, should be held in a relatively short period of time in China. A long-term agreement for the years 1991-95 will be discussed at the beginning of next year. Yesterday afternoon, J. Zak traveled from Beijing to the port city of Dalian where he will acquaint himself with business in the port of Dalian—an important transport and business crossroads in northeastern

China—and with the activities of mixed enterprises in the adjacently developing economic zone. During talks, Wei Fuhai, the mayor of Dalian, highly assessed last year's visit by Gustav Husak, CSSR president, to this city of almost 5 million people which, as he said, gave a significant boost to the development of contacts and economic cooperation between Dalian and its partners in the CSSR.

Czechoslovakia Biggest Exhibitor at Beijing Fair

AU1707152589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Jul 89 p 7

[CTK correspondent report: "Beijing Fair; CSSR the Biggest Exhibitor"]

[Summary] Beijing—Czechoslovakia is the biggest exhibitor of the 29 countries participating in the First International Beijing Fair, which opened on 14 July. Motokov, one of the country's foreign enterprises, is exhibiting several modified versions of Tatra and LIAZ trucks, agricultural machinery, and Jawa motorcycles. Skodaexport is exhibiting model hydro- and thermal power plants, a municipal incinerator, billet mill, and the Quarto rolling mill stand.

Indra Congratulates Laos' Nouhak Phoumsavan

BK0807141089 Vientiane Domestic Service in Lao 0000 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] Recently, Nouhak Phoumsavan, chairman of the Supreme People's Council [SPC], received a congratulatory message from Alois Indra, chairman of the Presidium of the Federal Assembly of the CSSR.

The message reads:

On behalf of the Federal Assembly of the CSSR, I would like to extend my warm congratulations and fraternal salutations to you, comrade, on your appointment as chairman of the SPC of the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

I would like to express my sincere conviction that the relationship between our two assemblies will have a profound bearing on the friendly relations and cooperation between the CSSR and Laos.

May you, comrade, have good health and score numerous successes in fulfilling your noble responsibilities.

Husak, Adamec Congratulate French Counterparts

AU1707151789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Jul 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "Receptions, Talks, Telegrams, Letters" column]

[Text] Prague—CSSR President Gustav Husak has sent a congratulatory telegram to Francois Mitterrand, president of the French Republic, on his country's National Day. CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec has sent a congratulatory telegram to French Prime Minister Michel Rocard on the same occasion.

Charter 77 Oppression Report Published in Vienna

AU1407103189

[Editorial Report] Vienna WOCHENPRESSE in German on 14 July on pages 42-43, under the headline "Campaign of Fear," carries a 1,500-word report by Charter 77 activist Dagmar Vanecek on action taken by CSSR authorities against regime critics as presented in a Charter 77 report entitled "Der CSSR Gulag." This latter report is published in German and can be ordered from IGFM Austria (International Human Rights Society), Untere Augartenstrasse 21, 1020 Vienna. Vanecek mentions several instances of oppression by the authorities and lawsuits against CSSR intellectuals—for example, author Frantisek Starek and his companion Iva Voljtkova, Charter 77 signatory Petr Cibulka, poet Ivan Martin Jirous, and Charter 77 activist Stanislav Pitas. The author notes that "the fear of those in power must be enormous; they are not only afraid of the written or spoken word, but also of music, pictures, films—in short everything that looks like modern art or free culture."

Human Rights Official Interviewed

AU1407133289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Jul 89 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Alexandr Klimes, LLD, section head of the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation, by Rostislav Valasek; place and date not given: "Prague, Opletalova Street No 13; How Complaints Are Resolved"]

[Excerpts] Since it was established last December, the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation has received almost 2,400 suggestions. They are discussed and dealt with by the section for dealing with suggestions, which is the executive body of the committee's Presidium. The public is greatly interested in the committee's activity. We spoke about this with its section head, Alexandr Klimes, LLD.

[Valasek] In what sort of cases do our citizens contact the committee most frequently?

[Klimes] The composition of complaints does not change very much. The sort of cases that predominate are those of a humanitarian nature, which are given preferential treatment, and criminal and civic-legal matters, which we trying to deal with by providing legal advice. Another numerically strong group are cases involving labor-legal affairs and social security issues. There are also numerous complaints about health services, whereas problems of minority and ethnical groups are rather the exception. By 1 July we had settled some 700 cases, and the number of those on whose behalf we are waiting for answers from the relevant bodies is about the same.

We are also being contacted by people in the matter of the termination of membership in the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party], but we cannot deal with those matters as they are completely within the CPCZ powers. The same thing also applies to the personal affairs of members of the other political parties and social organizations of the National Front. [passage omitted]

[Valasek] Is the number of new suggestions increasing or decreasing?

[Klimes] Compared with the previous period, their number has slightly decreased, and the number of psychopathic denunciations [podani] is decreasing.

[Valasek] By the previous period you mean the reaction to the October [1988] and then the January [1989] events in Wenceslas Square in Prague?

[Klimes] Yes.

[Valasek] What emerges from the letters, what are the concerns of our citizens?

[Klimes] Some of them are of the opinion that restructuring is making slow headway; others are perturbed by the planned reforms and the reforms that are being realized. We have also received initial reactions to the report on the apprehension of a terrorist group that was starting fires in industrial enterprises in order to cause considerable damage to the national economy. People unequivocally condemn such actions, just as they do the kidnapping of a boy to a foreign country and the attempt at yet another kidnapping.

[Valasek] According to my information, in the past few months, the committee dealt with the case of a family that had emigrated to the FRG in 1987, while the child remained with the grandmother. What was the result of your efforts to reunite the family?

[Klimes] The case you have just mentioned is evidence that these matters can be resolved through legal means. After obtaining a travel document, he departed and now the 5-year old boy lives with his parents. We are dealing with a similar case now.

[Valasek] By now you must have certain experience to know the opinions about your committee?

[Klimes] Certainly, with some national committees—when dealing with complaints—we have encountered positions treating us as though we were an element hostile to socialism. Then, there also are people in our country for whom we are no "good," because—so long as they do not fulfill the conditions for the setting up of an organization in the sense of Law No.68/1951 on Voluntary Organizations and Gatherings—we do not treat them as an organization, but only as citizens. These groups would like us to be some sort of opposition vis-a-vis the state power bodies. Of course, we are active within the framework of the Czechoslovak Legal Code, as is enshrined in the committee's statutes, and cannot administer law by violating the existing legal regulations. The reason our committee wqas set up was to help the state bodies by pointing out violations of the law. [passage omitted]

[Valasek] How do you assess the cooperation to date with state administration bodies? Do they respect the Federal Government's decision of last January pertaining to the creation of conditions for the committee's activity?

[Klimes] On the whole, state bodies and social organizations have the right idea about the committee's purpose and activity. They proceed in the spirit of the Federal Government's decision and, with a few exceptions, there has been no case of our being refused cooperation.

[Valasek] Does this apply to the Federal Ministry of the Interior, too?

[Klimes] We deal with it in matters concerning humanitarian issues and, above all, when it is a question of our citizens' applications to emigrate or depart [vycestovani] which were rejected earlier. Applications to emigrate constitute about one-fifth of all applications. We have sent two batches, containing about 140 applications, to the Federal Ministry of the Interior with the request that it review its decisions. In the case of the first batch, the CSSR Minister of the Interior communicated to the committee in a personal letter the positive processing of 24 applications for departure or emigration, and the Passport and Visa Administration and the National Security Corps dealt with the second batch by complying in 13 cases, and [promising to] comply in another 31 applications in the future, after all the necessary formalities have been settled. Thirty-five cases, after they had been reviewed in accordance with the law, were not complied with.

[Valasek] What is usually the reason for the attitude of rejection shown by the lower-level passport and visa bodies, and the positive decision by the center?

[Klimes] The Passport and Visa Administration does not provide a reason for rejection, and therefore the applicant does not know in which area of the letter of the law he failed; even mere formalities might be lacking. In addition, an employer can reject departure or emigration; we also must not leave out the so-called local situations, when a decision is made rather on the basis of reputation or some sort of inner conviction about the correctness of procedure. The personnel of the central administration do not have to consider those aspects and therefore, after a review, many previously rejected applications are complied with. [passage omitted]

[Valasek] Do foreign nationals also contact the committee?

[Klimes] Yes, they do, especially those from mixed marriages. They apply for an extension of their residence permit. In these cases, too, we successfully cooperate with the Passport and Visa Administration and the National Security Corps in Prague. We are processing applications by about 10 citizens, mainly from the United States, who wish to live the remainder of their lives in their fatherland, and to be able to this they must acquire a permanent residence permit. [passage omitted]

Leaders' Public Appearances for 5-12 Jul

AU1507220589

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech, Prague PRACE in Czech, and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak from 6 to 13 July report the following appearances of CSSR leaders (sourceline given in parentheses):

Upon its return from Bucharest, where it attended the session of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee, the Jakes-led delegation was welcomed at Prague Ruzyne Airport on 8 July by Ivan Knotek, Frantisek Pitra, and Karel Urbanek. (PRAVDA 10 Jul 89 p 1)

Two Prague engineering enterprises, Tatra and CKD Semiconductors, were visited by Ivan Knotek and Miroslav Stepan on 11 July. (RUDE PRAVO 12 Jul 89 p 2)

Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party (CPCZ) Central Committee, visited a folklore festival in Roznov pod Radhostem on 8 July. (PRAVDA 10 Jul 89 p 2)

Pavel Hrivnak, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Slovak premier, attended the Builders' Day celebrations in Bratislava on 7 July. (PRAVDA 8 Jul 89 p 1) He met with members of the Secretariat of the Slovak Trade Union Council in Bratislava on 11 July. (RUDE PRAVO 12 Jul 89 p 2)

Ignac Janak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and first secretary of the Slovak Communist Party (CPSL) Central Committee, presided over a meeting of the Slovak National Front Central Committee in Bratislava on 6 July. (RUDE PRAVO 7 Jul 89 p 2) He visited an agricultural research institute in Bucany in the Trnava District on the same day. (RUDE PRAVO 7 Jul 89 p 2)

Ivan Knotek, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member, visited the Dunajska Streda and Komarno Districts to acquaint himself with the progress of grain harvesting on 7 July. (RUDE PRAVO 8 Jul 89 p 2) He met with the media's economic editors in Prague on 12 July. (RUDE PRAVO 13 Jul 89 p 2)

Jozef Lenart, Presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, attended a gala lunch in honor of Mongolia's National Day, in Prague on 11 July. (RUDE PRAVO 12 Jul 89 p 2) He received Ilja Ulrich, the newly appointed CSSR ambassador to Ghana, Ivory Coast, Togo, Liberia, and Burkina Faso, in Prague on 11 July. (RUDE PRAVO 12 Jul 89 p 2)

Frantisek Pitra, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and Czech premier, attended Builders' Day celebrations in Prague on 8 July. (PRAVDA 10 Jul 89 p 2)

Karel Urbanek, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech Socialist Republic, attended celebrations of the 150th anniversary of the first railroad on the territory of today's CSSR, in Brno on 7 July. (RUDE PRAVO 8 Jul 89 p 2)

Miroslav Zajic, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, ended his visit to the South Moravian region on 7 July. (RUDE PRAVO 8 Jul 89 p 2) He visited the Plant Production Research Institute in Prague-Ruzyne on 12 July. (RUDE PRAVO 13 Jul 89 p 2)

Miroslav Zavadil, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the Central Trade Union Council, attended a meeting of chairmen of the South Bohemian District trade union councils in Ceske Budejovice on 7 July. (PRACE 8 Jul 89 p 1)

Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense, presented to Major General Frantisek Janecek, deputy chief of CSSR civil defense, the Order of Labor on the occasion of the latter's 60th birthday, in Prague on 10 July. (RUDE PRAVO 11 Jul 89 p 2)

Honecker Greets Mitterrand on National Day

AU1707162789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Jul 89 p 1

[ND report: "Greetings From the GDR on 200th Anniversary of French Revolution; Erich Honecker Conveys Congratulations to President Francois Mitterrand and Prime Minister Michel Rocard on National Day"]

[Text] Berlin (ND)—On the National Day of the French Republic on 14 July, the 200th anniversary of the French Revolution, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and chairman of the GDR State Council, has conveyed greetings to the president and the prime minister in Paris. The telegram to President Francois Mitterrand reads as follows:

It is a great pleasure for me to cordially congratulate you and the French people on your National Day, on which you simultaneously commemorate the 200th anniversary of the French Revolution. I combine this with best wishes for your personal well-being and a happy future for your country.

The gate to a new era was pushed open in Paris 2 centuries ago. Since that time, the humanist ideas of "freedom, equality, and fraternity" have spurred the peoples on in their struggle for human dignity, social justice, and social progress. Thus, the GDR also pays adequate tribute to the anniversary of this event of international historic importance.

I can state with satisfaction that the relations between the GDR and the French Republic have constantly developed and deepened since our meeting in Paris. I place expectations on the continuation of our constructive talks. I am convinced that they will give important new impetus to the development of fruitful cooperation between our two countries, as well as to securing peace, strengthening confidence, and increasing the stability in Europe.

Erich Honecker,

General secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council

The telegram to Prime Minister Michel Rocard reads as follows:

It is a special pleasure for me to cordially congratulate you on the National Day of the French Republic, the 200th anniversary of the French Revolution.

We can state with satisfaction that the relations of fruitful cooperation between the GDR and the French Republic continue to develop dynamically. The GDR will continue to actively work for the further development of this cooperation which serves our peoples' benefit and the permanent securing of peace.

Erich Honecker,

General secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council

Honecker Sends Condolences to PRC Leaders

AU1707192489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Jul 89 p 2

[ND report: "Condolences for the Victims of the Flood Disaster in the People's Republic of China"]

[Text] Berlin—On behalf of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], the State Council, the GDR Government, and the GDR people, Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, sent deeply felt condolences to CPC Central Committee General Secretary Jiang Zemin and PRC President Yang Shangkun on the serious flood disaster in the Chinese province of Sichuan, which has claimed numerous lives.

Christians Fined for Anti-Chinese Protests

AU1707144789 Paris AFP in English 1424 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Text] Berlin, July 17 (AFP)—Thirteen Christians who protested against the repressions in China from inside a church in the southern East German city of Dresden have been fined 160 to 540 dollars, informed source said Monday.

The demonstrators banged on a drum inside the church for several days as a sign of protest at the brutal June crackdown and put up a poster explaining the situation in China.

Ten of the protestors were fined 540 dollars, the equivalent of a monthly wage and the highest fine that can be given without taking the matter to court.

East Germany has systematically condemned pro-democracy protests in China as the work of "counter-revolutionaries."

In a separate incident, local authorities in the southeastern town of Cottbus have condemned East German writer, Lutz Rathenow of carrying out an "anti-national demonstration" when he read extracts from his book "East Berlin—the Other Face of a Town" at a local church last week, the author said Monday.

A few days after the public reading, the authorities told the church pastor that "such anti-national demonstrations would be forbidden in the future," the author said.

He said it was the first time in several years that the authorities had intervened in this way after a public reading of a writer's work in a church.

Poll Queries, Reveals Hatred for Foreigners

AU1707145189 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 17 Jul 89 p 4

[Dieter Dose report: "In the GDR, Too, There Is Hatred for Foreigners"]

[Excerpts] Berlin—"In former times we would have gassed someone like you"—this is one of the threats and harassments by neo-Nazi soccer fans reported by a young black called Lamin. [passage omitted]

He reported the above statement to the microphones of "DT 64," the GDR youth radio station, in East Berlin a few days ago. A description of increasing hatred for foreigners in the GDR.

For quite some time, the Evangelical Church has heavily criticized this fact. Now, however, one can see more and more frequently in the GDR media, which have been reporting about neo-Nazism and ultrarightist attitudes in the FRG in an almost campaign-like way for weeks, that the GDR has considerable problems with hatred for and violence against foreigners.

160,000 Foreigners

In every country there are people, "who either out of ignorance, arrogance, or simply stupidity, have reservations about fellow-citizens of other nationalities" was how VOICE OF THE GDR played the matter down. However, there are often violent and brutal reservations: Recently trials were held following violent attacks on foreigners in Weimar, Schwerin, and East Berlin. Three young people there were sentenced to terms in prison; they belonged to a group of 15 to 20 people who were chasing foreigners, in particular those from African countries, after visits to several bars. In its report on the trial JUNGE WELT, the paper of the Free German Youth, quoted one of the persons sentenced in East Berlin, a 16-year-old student, as saying: "I am against blacks."

In Dessau young people were tried for singing Nazi songs in the street. "A group of foreign citizens wanted to get in without an entry ticket," a Dessau paper reported with regard to a mass fight in front of the "House of Youth."

THUERINGISCHE LANDESZEITUNG reported on graffiti ("Niggers get out of Germany") in toilets. About 160,000 foreigners live in the GDR; more than 55,000 of them are Vietnamese. [passage omitted]

When something happens somewhere "foreigners are often suspected," the East Berlin magazine DIE KIRCHE says. Hatred for foreigners is not a new problem in the GDR. In the past it was simply a taboo subject. [passage omitted]

FRG Support for Neo-Nazi Groups Criticized

AU1707160589 East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 13 Jul 89 p 2

[Wolfgang Gebhardt commentary: "Attacks on National Legitimation"]

[Text] Protected by the official "Office for the Protection of the Constitution" and the police, the neo-Nazi forces in the FRG and in Berlin (West) are sounding the charge against antifascism in German history and against patriots of all political, ideological, and religious convictions, who fought against war and fascism and risked their lives in this battle. At the party congress of the so-called "Republicans" of Berlin (West), accompanied by the frenetic applause of his young followers, many of whom wear police uniforms, the chairman of this FRG neo-Nazi party, Schoenhuber, who takes pride in his SS career, maligned the action of patriotic officers and their fellow-fighters from the bourgeoisie as a "putsch" [the attack on Adolf Hitler on 20 July 1944] and shrewdly calculated that putschists are generally considered traitors all over the world.

But Stauffenberg and his friends had the legitimation of acting in the name of human rights, because they considered it the supreme human right to resist fascism and to help bring about peace. The patriots had a profoundly national legitimation and the legitimation of history, because they wanted to save the nation from the path to destruction. They risked their lives for a truly internationalist cause, because they wanted to help spare mankind the further existence of fascism organized by the state.

Antifascists of all generations from Berlin (West), and not only there, have most categorically protested against this incitement as an unbearable insult to the men and women of the German resistance. At the same time, they rejected statements by Diepgen, the opposition leader of the Christian Democratic Union, who had called Schoenhuber an "incorrigible screwball," as an attempt to play down the intolerable event to a trifle.

The attacks of people like Schoenhuber on people like Stauffenberg are, much more, a solidarization with the rule of fascism, with the henchmen of those patriots who rose up to defend the fatherland, with the murderers of all those antifascists who gave their lives in the struggle against the crimes committed against the German people and against the people's of Europe.

Thus, the malicious attack on the men of 20 July 1944 is a general attack on antifascism on the whole, on antifascist attitudes and actions in the past and present. Those who incite opinion against Stauffenberg also incite opinion against cooperation with social democrats and communists, with humanists of all colors. Not least, the "Free Germany" National Committee, the most comprehensive alliance of all of Hitler's enemies, is to be slandered. In the interest of the joint struggle against fascism, Stauffenberg tried to establish contact with the "Free Germany" National Committee, an effort, which—as we know today—was successful shortly before 20 July 1944.

In their attacks on any kind of antifascism, the neo-Nazis know themselves to be in cosy agreement with those judges who helped Stauffenberg's murderer—former Nazi Major General Remer—get back-pay of his pension amounting to DM15,000, who had a plaque in honor of the victims of the fascist Reich Martial Court destroyed, who delay the prosecution of war criminals and try to prevent it.

And does it not seem strange when the FRG Office for the Protection of the Constitution exercises its protective function not so much concerning the Constitution but concerning the neo-Nazis?

The baiting of the neo-Nazis is a declaration of war on the teachings of the antifascist resistance, which today have an effect in the worldwide coalition of reason and realism and bring together completely different political and social forces for the prevention of a nuclear inferno, for preserving peace, and thus mankind. Once more, the inciters reveal themselves to be enemies of peace.

Consistent antifascism is contained in the historical legitimation of our GDR. Therefore, we are closing the front against neo-Nazism and all those influential forces which in Western Europe—and in particular in the FRG and in Berlin (West)—are using speeches and activities to cultivate the political soil on which nationalism and revanchism, right up to neo-Nazism flourish.

Talks Begin With FRG on Merkers Rock Burst

AU1807081589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15-16 Jul 89 p 2

[ADN report: "GDR-FRG Talks on Merkers Rock Burst"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Friday [14 July] representatives of the GDR and FRG Governments started talks in Berlin on the causes and effects of the rock burst at the Werra Potash Enterprise on 13 March 1989. The GDR expressed the expectation that the FRG will stop pressing potash waste water into the rocks near the border to the GDR. The negotiations will continue.

Registration of Namibian Citizens for Repatriation

AU1807082789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15-16 Jul 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Registration of Namibian Citizen for Return Concluded"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Friday [14 July] the registration of about 250 Namibian citizens, who live in the GDR and are preparing for their repatriation, was concluded under UN supervision in Berlin. Filling in the registration forms makes it possible for those Namibians who so desire to return to their homeland within the framework of the independence process.

The UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the GDR Foreign Ministry, and the GDR Solidarity Committee are cooperating in repatriating the Namibian citizens who live in the GDR. The GDR has declared its readiness to support the return of the Namibians to their homeland and arrange charter flights from Berlin to Windhoek.

Official Proposes UN Environmental Conference

AU1707195889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Jul 89 p 5

[ADN report: "GDR Proposes UN Conference on Environmental Issues"]

[Excerpt] Geneva—Willi Schlegel, head of the GDR delegation to the meeting of the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) in Geneva, said on Thursday [13 July] that the GDR attaches great importance to having a UN conference on environmental and development issues called together for 1992. He said that the conference should be held on a high political level in order to continue the political dialogue, begun at the Stockholm environment conference of 1972, on fundamental, strategic problems regarding the conservation of mankind's natural bases of life.

Willi Schlegel stressed that such a conference would have to make contributions to ecologically ensured development through peace, disarmament, and cooperation and it would have to adopt economic strategies that included environmental aspects. [passage omitted]

Comparison of GDR Bucharest Summit Statement

AU1707143389

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 14 July on page 1, under the headline "Joint Statement of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the State Council, and the GDR Council of Ministers; Warsaw Pact States Consistently Continue Policy of Peace, Disarmament, and Cooperation; On the Results of the Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact States in Bucharest on 7-8 July 1989," carries the 800-word GDR statement on the Bucharest Warsaw Pact meeting. Comparison with the item headlined "Joint Statement on Pact Meeting in Bucharest" published in the 17 July East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 17, column one, shows that the two versions are identical except for the following:

First paragraph, sentence one, to second paragraph, sentence one, reads: [Text] The Politburo of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party [SED] of Germany, the State Council, and the GDR Council of Ministers accepted the report of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, on the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact states in Bucharest on 7-8 July 1989. They were in agreement with it and gave thanks for the work achieved under the leadership of Comrade Erich Honecker.

In a moment.... (supplying press version).

Editorial Views Bush's Visit, Ties With U.S.

AU1807090889 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 14 Jul 89 p 3

[Editorial by Peter Vajda: "38 Hours"]

[Text] This was the first time that the Hungarian red, white, and green flag and the U.S. Stars and Stripes had flown side by side on the Hungarian Parliament Building. U.S. President Bush and his wife were guests in Budapest for 2 days. This visit also had its own human dimensions. As one of the best-informed people in the world, the President is well aware that for a very long time now Hungarians have not been "ordered out into the streets" for any neighboring or distant statesman's visit, and so the President noticed with satisfaction the great number of people waiting for him in Kossuth Square in the rain and their warm greetings on the streets. By all means, this 2-day visit has raised Hungarian-U.S. relations to a new and higher level, because no U.S. president has ever visited Hungary before, and from our viewpoint this is one of the most important and clearly successful diplomatic developments in recent years.

For quite some time we have opened our window to the world at large from the not-so-large apartment we own in the common European home. We are now regarding the United States without cold-war conditioning and now we properly evaluate not only its international role, but also the entrepreneurial spirit and dynamism that characterize its society and its outstanding ability to adjust to new processes. Back to opening the window: It also makes a difference how many people can see the one who opens a window. The world press, primarily the U.S. media, provided more news from Budapest during these 1 and ½ days than it had for several months at other times. So, from now on, hopefully the people on the street on the other side of the ocean will no longer confuse Budapest with Bucharest so easily; the administration in Washington has for a long time been noticing and mentioning the difference between the two.

It is again worth judging the U.S. policy that this time has included Warsaw and Budapest on the President's itinerary. There are foreign and socialist commentaries that see some intention to divide and confront through this choice of countries. I think it would be a great distortion and simplification to presume that U.S. diplomacy is led by such priorities. Anything that could have contained some truth the day before yesterday is completely wrong today. The Bush-Baker diplomacy is no less different from the Eisenhower-Dulles period than the extent to which the Gorbachev-Shevardnadze foreign policy differs from the Stalin-Molotov foreign policy. It was not by accident that the President declared his interest in the success of restructuring during his visit in Budapest and that he mentioned the importance of the status quo in his speech at the university in Budapest. We are convinced that his visit in Hungary was a gesture that was not directed against anyone. Why Poland and Hungary? We should look for the essence of the answer in the fact that there is great emphasis among the lobbies of U.S. democracy—or interest groups—on that which "travels in human rights" [szabadsagjogokban utazik], that is which judges countries according to the extent these countries guarantee these rights to their citizens. [sentence as published] Not because of expectations from abroad, but starting from its own national interests and historical consequences, Hungary has done a lot to accomplish these rights. The White House decision to visit Hungary was also a popular decision in a country where the top leaders pay great attention to the people's mood. This visit took place when people on the banks of the Danube and the Potomac no longer think differently about the free crossing of frontiers, or about the free flow of ideas. Therefore, President Bush took no special political risks in declaring that, by ensuring free emigration, Hungary fully complies with the Jackson-Vanik Amendment. Consequently, Hungary could be the first country to be exempt from this limitation on the basis of the White House proposal, thus making the U.S. market more available for Hungarian goods.

No doubt, this is very important for us, as are the other points the President mentioned in his university address. As for the fact that some people are now writing about disappointment, and claiming that the "aid package" is too modest, one should emphatically point out that no responsible person should entertain illusions about this visit. The time of the Marshall Plans is over, and nobody expected such aid. However, our expectations were fulfilled—namely, that the United States should promote the success of the Hungarian reform process by improving bilateral relations, encouraging private capital investments, and developing the entrepreneurial infrastructure. This, and not something else, is essential for us.

The U.S. President will express his impressions about Hungary himself. In any case, he had the opportunity to see a country that was considerably different from the one he came to know during his visit as vice president. As an essential element of the market economy, a multitude of ownership forms are emerging, and a pluralism of ideas is already present. The literature of Marx, as well as of Keynes and Friedman, continues to be highly recommended at the Karl Marx University of Economics (it was the first time that the President lectured in an institution with such a name...). Besides, there is an increasingly smaller compulsory bibliography, and the citizens, and not just university students, choose for themselves.

On the basis of personal meetings, too, George Bush had the opportunity to formulate his views about a political system characterized by the emergence of new parties and movements. People's confidence will determine the place of these parties in tomorrow's Hungary. The "different way of thinking" of these parties has become a public norm, because the principle that prevails today is the following: "I am different, so I exist"; however, there are also common features: All these parties are striving for a smooth and peaceful transition from today to tomorrow. This future is a constitutional state in place of the party state; there can be nothing else. All the responsible

Hungarian leaders who met with the President were united in their commitment to this goal. Perhaps there is reason to presume that the guest from the White House agreed with his hosts that any destabilization or power vacuum in this phase of the transitional period would create a dangerous situation well beyond Hungary's borders.

There is a common interest in avoiding dangers in a world in which the concepts of proximity and distance are becoming relative in accordance with the rules of the nuclear age. The enemy image should be destroyed and replaced with friendship and partner images, and dividing walls and barbed wire fences between East and West and between different systems should also be demolished, like the fence from which the President received a piece as a present, accompanied by this meaningful text: "This piece of barbed wire is part of the iron curtain built along the Hungarian-Austrian border and which physically symbolized the division of Europe. Its demolition was made possible by the will of the Hungarian people and the recognition of coexistence and interdependence between nations. We believe that the still prevailing artificial physical and spiritual barriers in the world will once collapse everywhere."

All this needs time; the Bible story also says that Jericho's walls did not tumble down at the first sound of trumpets. President Bush's 38-hour visit in Budapest served this goal, and we will cherish the memory of the visit and the hope of understanding.

Gyula Horn Queried on Relations With Romania

PM1707114489 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 16-17 Jul 89 p 15

[Interview with Foreign Minister Gyula Horn by Andrea Tarquini in Budapest; date not given]

[Excerpt] Budapest—[passage omitted] [Tarquini] Minister Horn, Bucharest is purchasing nuclear missiles. How do you assess the threat?

[Horn] The threat has not yet materialized, but it must not be underestimated. We told Ceausescu this clearly at the Warsaw Pact summit in Bucharest: In Europe, where disarmament is moving ahead, if a minor country acquires medium-range missiles such as those that the Americans and Soviets are dismantling, it constitutes a destabilizing factor with respect to the entire continent's security. But we have received no replies.

[Tarquini] How do you explain Romania's rearmament?

[Horn] The decision they have announced and the way in which the Romanian chiefs of staff are publicizing it seem to me to have a domestic purpose designed to intimidate the population—a display of might to weigh on the country's collective awareness. I do not consider an armed conflict possible, but I believe that the decision does create political tensions.

Military Countermeasures?

[Tarquini] Have you taken any military countermeasures?

[Horn] No, because those weapons have not arrived yet. But the moment they are deployed, if they do not abandon the decision to deploy them, we will have to act accordingly in the interests of national defense. I stress, however, that we remain in favor of the reduction of forces in Europe—the reduction being negotiated by East and West. Romania's intentions do not seem to assist that course.

[Tarquini] On your return from Bucharest you said that relations with Romania are at their lowest ebb ever. Do you stand by that assessment?

[Horn] Yes, we and they are agreed on only one thing—on the undeniable fact that we are two neighboring countries. I believe it is in our common interest to improve relations, but in view of Romania's attitude I am extremely pessimistic: I regard the possibility of an improvement as very unlikely.

[Tarquini] The Romanian press describes you as a "fascist government." How do you reply?

[Horn] They are attacks by the press, not the government, but in any case we reject them categorically. They are senseless remarks made to divert attention from the human rights violations committed by the Romanian authorities against the Hungarian minority nd other citizens.

[Tarquini] Bucharest replies that these are their internal affairs...

[Horn] No, human rights are not the internal affair of any individual country, because they, like us or your own government, have signed international undertakings in Helsinki and Vienna that must be honored.

[Tarquini] Will a thaw be possible between you and them once Ceausescu has left the scene?

[Horn] I do not know; I do not work on the basis of speculations. I do know that at present I see no possibility of an improvement, in view of their attitude.

[Tarquini] The Romanian, Czechoslovak, and East German press has criticized you and the Poles for the welcome granted to Bush. Is the split within the bloc widening, then?

[Horn] Certainly, I must admit that the articles about this visit by Bush—which was historic for us—that I have read in the press of those neighboring countries have been not comprehensive and balanced, but superficial. They are attacks by the press, not issued by members of government, and are nonsensical: Bush is a realistic politician, he has not challenged our alliance and that of the Poles with the USSR, and he does not threaten the stability of Central-Eastern Europe. For us the launching of relations with America—with this America that wants perestroyka to succeed as much as we do—and Hungary's gradual integration into the European Free Trade Association and the EC are a great help to our reforms.

"Senseless Assessments"

[Tarquini] East Berlin and Prague are talking about counterrevolutionary tendencies in Hungary. How do you reply to that?

[Horn] We reject these senseless assessments. Here the party wants to guide the transition to new institutions, to a multiparty system, and to the market system. There is national consensus on this.

[Tarquini] What kind of democracy can be accepted by a party that remains communist?

[Horn] A democratic form of socialism—certainly not Romania's kind. We pay attention to the experience of many countries—Sweden, the United States, Spain—and our platform will also have to face free competition with other peoples' ideas. Above all, we need to prepare for the election campaign by bringing forward the worthiest individuals within our ranks. I also want to stress that democratization will include the depoliticization of the Army and police, which the parties will no longer be allowed to influence.

[Tarquini] The UN agency on refugees is to open its first center in a socialist country in Budapest. Do you expect a tide of refugees from the allied countries?

[Horn] At the moment we are hosting only Romanian refugees, and I believe that they are the only ones that will continue to come here. We do not encourage anyone to leave their own country, because those who escape do not help those who remain. But there is also a human problem: In the "common European home" you do not slam the door in the face of those who are fleeing and seeking asylum.

[Tarquini] The Hungarian press is urging the government to reappraise its participation in the invasion of Czechoslovakia and to pronounce a self-criticism. Are you ready for such a step?

[Horn] We have reappraised the white threat of 1956. We believe in the need for historical truth, and in 1968, as in the case of 1956, we see a lesson of history—namely, that individual countries' options are an internal matter and that the countries that condemn "errors," "threats," and the rest are wrong. It is not their duty, it is not their right. Political options derive their legitimacy from their autonomy.

General Karpati Meets Romanian Defense Official

LD1707150289 Budapest MTI in English 1315 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 17 (MTI)—Colonel General Ferenc Karpati, Hungarian minister of defence, has met Lieutenant General Victor Stanculescu, first deputy minister of Defence of the Socialist Republic of Romania, who is on holiday in Hungary at the invitation of the minister of defence of the Hungarian People's Republic.

Suspended Official Comments on Rights, Hopes

LD1707113389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Text] As is well known, because of his statements in LA STAMPA and L'UNITA, Csaba Tabajdi, deputy head of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [MSZMP] Central Committee's Foreign Affairs Department was suspended from his post. He has just returned from his holiday and today is his first working day. The following is a telephone interview by Julia Szamado:

[Tabajdi] I was on holiday in Yugoslavia and Greece. I found out about it there that I was suspended from my post, but my colleagues and my department head Geza Kotai advised me to finish my holiday and after that they would examine my case.

[Szamado] What do you think? Was your suspension justified?

[Tabajdi] Look, from the viewpoint of employment rights, the employer has the right to suspend a person from his post even in his absence. As far as the political content of the matter is concerned, however, I see no kind of proof whatsoever for the accusation that I have made press statements that gravely offended foreign and military political interests. I saw the texts of the interview in LA STAMPA and L'UNITA, and on the basis of the texts it will be very difficult for anyone to prove that I have offended, no matter what kind of national interest. I am counting on just one thing, that there will be a correct, party-like, and equitable examination, not a conceptional trial.

[Szamado] What were your feelings when you started work today after your summer holiday?

[Tabajdi] It was weird. I have to work; in other words, the suspension does not mean that I will not now work. But they said that I cannot sign anything, therefore, I am not performing the tasks of deputy, but I do what a political staff member does in this department.

[Szamado] In the corridor, when you met your colleagues, was Karoly Grosz among them?

[Tabajdi] No.

[Szamado] How are you preparing for this meeting? You obviously know that it was he who personally suspended you from your post.

[Tabajdi] The situation here has since changed, as you well know, after the latest Central Committee session. In the future, international relations will be supervised by Rezso Nyers, the MSZMP chairman. And, well, I'd like to thank the reform circles, the mass media, and all my Hungarian compatriots [voice quivers with emotion] who believe that this is an issue not only of putting into question one man's freedom of speech, but which can also mean the obstruction of the democratization process, possibly an overture to such a trend. Let us hope it is not a question of this. On Friday, the first examination will be held. After that, no doubt, I will be able to say more.

Officials Hold Talks With Syria's Mashariqah

JN1807082189 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 0415 GMT 18 Jul 89

[Text] Within the framework of his visit to Hungary, Dr Muhammad Zuhayr Mashariqah met with Szuros Matyas, Hungarian National Assembly president [title as heard], yesterday. The talks dealt with relations between the two countries.

Matyas pointed out that President Hafiz al-Asad's visit to Hungary in 1978 and the visit of the president of the Hungarian Presidential Council to Syria in 1986 have entrenched relations of friendship and cooperation between the two countries.

He stressed that Hungary highly appreciates Syria's stance on the Middle East issue. He pointed out that a solution to the Middle East crisis should be achieved in accordance with the UN resolutions and through an international peace conference.

The Hungarian official affirmed that it is impossible to ignore Syria's role in any search for a settlement because it is a key to any solution in the Middle East.

Dr Mashariqah expressed Syria's appreciation of Hungary's support for the Arab nation's issues. He also expressed the hope that bilateral relations will be further promoted in the interests of the two friendly peoples and countries.

Yesterday Dr Muhammad Zuhayr Mashariqah also met with Trautmann Rezso, vice president of the Hungarian Presidential Council.

At the outset of the meeting, Rezso praised the existing relations of friendship and cooperation between Syria and Hungary. Rezso spoke about the current situation in Hungary, and gave a briefing on the current economic and political measures there.

Further on Talks

JN1807075789 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 0415 GMT 18 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest—The talks between the National Progressive Front [NPF] delegation led by Dr Muhammad Zuhayr Mashariqah, vice president and deputy leader of the NPF, and the delegation of the Hungarian Patriotic People's Front led by Istvan Huszar, chairman of the front, began yesterday.

Attending the talks were 'Abd-al-Ghani Qannut and Safwan Qudsi, members of the NPF Central Command, and the Syrian charge d'affaires in Budapest.

Dr Mashariqah reviewed the experiment of the NPF in Syria, which is considered among the most prominent achievements of the corrective movement led by President Hafiz al-Asad in 1970.

Dr Mashariqah also spoke about the situation in the Middle East. He stressed that Israel's expansionist policy, which is based on aggression, hampers the achievement of any just solution to the Palestine question and that Syria is struggling for the sake of liberating the occupied Arab territories and restoring the Palestinian people's national rights, including their right to self-determination and the establishment of their independent state on their homeland's soil through the convening of an effective international conference under UN auspices.

Dr Mashariqah reviewed the Lebanese situation. He stressed that Syria will continue to carry out its fraternal duty toward Lebanon to restore that country's health.

Istvan Huszar spoke about the current reforms and changes in the political and economic structure of Hungary. He expressed his happiness with the promotion of relations between the Syrian NPF and the Hungarian Patriotic People's Front. He stressed the Hungarian leadership's concern to promote further belateral ties of friendship and cooperation.

He said that Hungary calls for reaching a solution to the Middle East issue that guarantees Israel's withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories and the Palestinian people's rights to self-determination and the establishment of their independent state. He stressed Hungary's support for the convening of an international conference for peace in the Middle East under the auspices of the United Nations.

Bush Visit Means Greater East-West Cooperation

AU1807093289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15-16 Jul 89 p 6

[Wlodzimierz Lozinski commentary "From Warsaw to Paris and Beyond"]

[Text] In the old days, force was considered an adequate form of political action. Julius Caesar did not resort to any diplomacy when crossing the Rhine, or the Rubicon. From the Congress of Vienna, however, diplomacy supplanted force as a form of political action, though, to the present day these two factors have been intertwined with one another. Nowadays, we are entering the era of public diplomacy where the element of impacting on society's consciousness by means of the mass media plays a decisive role.

It is obvious that one cannot point to any period of time which would show when one or another of these factors began to dominate in foreign politics. Today it is economic, more than military, power which provides the essential thrust in politics. When one hears promising news from the Vienna or Geneva talks, the maxim "divide et impera" assumes a new meaning. Those with dollars or yen have a much greater chance to divide and rule than those who are asking for them. Will public diplomacy become the main moral element in politics, or only a smokescreen for exploiting one's strength?

It is, however, a very effective instrument of foreign and internal politics. When arranging the program of President Bush's visits to Poland, Hungary, and France, the Americans were particularly concerned with correlating the main events of the visit with their television program schedules. I do not know if, for example, our readers noticed that the President's speech in the Polish parliament and at the monument to the shipworkers occurred at 1400 hours. In the United States it was 0800 East Coast time and about 0600 in the Rocky Mountains. Millions of people eat their breakfast with their eyes glued to the television morning news programs. "Good Morning America," "Today," or "This Day" shape the image of the President, a process which is helpful in the struggle for power, a struggle which never ends. At this time of the morning newspapers are also lying by the door. All one has to do is reach out and read while drinking one's coffee. Thus is public diplomacy cleverly harnessed in the service of great politics.

What of its content? Undoubtedly, it means the return of the United States to central and Eastern Europe. A return which in principle is of value, because it is not based on old doctrines of confrontation, pressure, or interference, but is based on the desire for cooperation which accepts differences of system and politics. This change owes a lot to many things. The changes in the Soviet Union, Poland, and Hungary have highlighted the variety of ways of political and social progress and are forging the way for new international relations in which there may be the same amount of room for America in the East, as there is for us in the West.

This is however an opportunity, the beginnings toward creating such a reality. It would be a good thing if the French cared to remember just how much their victorious Great Revolution of 1789 owes to the then collapsing Poland. In 1793, Russia was preoccupied with the Kosciuszko Insurrection and was unable to send her armies to save the French Monarchy. Wojciech Jaruzelski was right when in the course of a television interview (public diplomacy!) given on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of the French Revolution, he reminded the French that the fall of Poland contributed to the success of their Marseillaise. A dozen or so years earlier we had also contributed in a somewhat different way, to the victory of the American Revolution!

What remains of those ideas of "freedom, equality, and fraternity?" Without doubt, the publicly declared desire of attaining these ideals on a global scale. President Mitterrand invited over 30 leaders of the most indebted and least developed countries to Paris. He and the leaders of the most developed Western countries have declared their support for the holding of a great North-South economic conference. Nevertheless, the richest and the poorest from the so-called Third World have not yet come together. At its own conference, the group of "Seven" did not want to have their proceedings delayed by having the poorest countries present, though undoubtedly the poorest have their reasons for asking for changes in global political economics. Public diplomacy was notably less public than during the individual visits of the great leaders.

What can Poland expect from them? From Jaruzelski's letter to Mitterrand, who is the host of the conference of the "Seven," and from the talks held with Bush in Warsaw, it appears that we are not asking for any favors as some Western publicists have put it. Because of the interest rates we still owe a great deal, this is undeniable, but we have already paid back more than we originally borrowed.

We want the Paris Club to agree to a postponement of our repayments so that the freed interest payments and capital can go toward the purchase of necessary equipment with which to restructure our industry and increase its export capability. We want to receive credit from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank toward the same aim. As members we have a right to ask for this. In our bilateral agreements we want to have guarantees of joint financing of mixed, Polish-Foreign economic-export undertakings, that can speed up our progress.

All that we want lies within the sound framework of international cooperation beneficial for the West and the East. Bush and other visiting leaders and those who have received Polish leaders abroad have declared similar views in relation to Polish demands.

After Paris we shall know how many of these declarations contain something more than just public diplomacy. How much of it will spread beyond the Paris city limits—of Paris which is celebrating its 200th anniversary of the Revolution?. We must not wait with bated breath for we know that we have to help ourselves. However we are conscious of the fact that Poland is just as necessary for Europe as Europe is necessary for Poland. This is not merely something for public diplomacy.

Council of Ministers on Pact Summit, Bush Visit

LD1807003689 Warsaw PAP in English 0008 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 17—The government holding its debate today under chairmanship of Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski acquainted itself with the results of the debate of the advisory Political Committee of states-parties to the Warsaw Treaty held in Bucharest July 7-8. The government assessed that the settlements made in Bucharest would favour the deepening of the well-developing East- West dialogue and the strengthening of detente tendencies in Europe. Results of the debate create favourable conditions for implementation of Polish foreign policy, the gathered emphasized. The Council of Ministers assessed that the official Polish visit of President George Bush created conditions for full reconstruction of bilateral relations and that it would contribute to overcoming a part of still existing barriers in cooperation with international financial and economic organizations.

The Council of Ministers recommended the ministers to take up actions aiming at working out appropriate mechanisms for making fast and proper use of the results of that visit.

The Council of Ministers considered the assumptions of the economic programme for the years 1989-1992. After being approved by the Sejm, the programme will be a basis for working out the adjustment programme for Poland and agreeing it with the International Monetary Fund. Achieving considerable progress in balancing the economy and structural changes was considered to be the most important item of the programme.

The economic policy in the years 1989-1992 will be determined by four key tendencies:

1. Restructurization of the economy aiming at improvement of production efficiency and change in production structure, among others through liquidation of most energy and material consuming plants and through transforming state enterprises into joint stock companies.

2. The tightening of the financial policy aimed at the improvement of the economic equilibrium. Among other things, envisaged is the lowering of the budget deficit, smaller share of subsidies in budgetary spendings, substantial reform of the tax system.

3. Liberalization of the rules of economy's functioning and the development of market relations.

4. Inflow of the foreign capital as a condition for the success of the adjustment programme and for regaining external equilibrium. It is envisaged that the current turnover with the capitalist countries will be balanced by 1992. This will depend on:

—Launching real cooperation with IMF and the World Bank,

—Reaching agreement with the Paris Club concerning favourable terms in repaying the debt particularly in the years 1990-1992,

—Restoring government guaranteed credits for export and direct investments in Poland,

—Establishing favourable terms of servicing the debt to commercial banks, not worse than those granted to other indebted countries.

The Council of Ministers also reviewed the assumptions of the laws aimed at the creation of the capital market in Poland. The government also approved of the national programme of environmental protection.

The national programme of environmental protection adopted by the government wil be filled with the Sejm.

The Council of Ministers adopted a draft law on amendment to the Law on Social Fund of the rural areas. According to the arrangements of the round table, the bill provides for the creation of a permanent National Council for Social Fund of the Rural Areas which will have the means of the central fund at its command.

The government adopted an ordinance on establishing a free zone in the western city of Poznan. The offers on economic cooperation based on the free zone have come from several scores of foreign enterprises, mainly from the FRG, Austria, the U.S. and Japan.

The Council also adopted a decision on the issue of establishing a free zone in the eastern town and area of Terespol. After reviewing the pay situation in medical service the government decided to take account in the proposed legal regulation of an introduction of the principle that corrections of pays in the budget sphere will be done on the basis of a quarter-of-a-year assessment of pays in the material sphere.

Geremek Surveys West's Attitude to Poland

LD1707202689 Warsaw PAP in English
1557 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 17—"GAZETA WYBORCZA" (Solidarnosc) published today an interview with Professor Bronislaw Geremek after his return from Paris. The chairman of the Citizens Parliamentary Floor Group said, among other things:

I was in Paris virtually on a private visit, but I also had an opportunity to hold a number of talks. My interlocutors were of opinion that General Jaruzelski's message meant backing the proposals of Solidarnosc.

Of crucial importance is the unequivocal support of all my interlocutors, of both political and economic activists. All of them are aware that the future of changes in the European east is being determined in Poland, that it is the first chance of implementing both economic and political reforms. In the past either the former or the latter were undertaken.

Debt Rescheduling and Food Aid

The matter of rescheduling the Polish debt is already practically settled. Besides, the United States and the European Community countries will extend food aid to Poland which will make the reform of the food market possible and will cushion that shock. The matter is that the EC would prefer to speak of a long-term assistance, which means trade rather than aid, while the U.S. has just declared ad hoc aid in the form of meat, corn, dairy products.

The Soros Plan

I consider initatives of Western capital, such as the plan of Mr Soros (American financier), important in this respect. Soros proposed to create a consortium of Western capital which would take over the entire Polish debt at market prices, that is for one third of its nominal value. The debt would be taken over as if in pledge of a part of national property, equal in worth to the debt. How to count it? That is a problem.

The plan involves social costs. The consortium would take over workplaces and that would speed up the process of shutting down inefficient enterprises. Solidarnosc has not taken a stand on this matter yet.

The Paris Club has agreed for us not to pay the interest on the debt which we are not paying anyway, but that would be legal now and would unblock the possibility of obtaining new credits.

There were also voices regarding bilateral agreements between particular G-7 countries and Poland, yet a comprehensive aid of the whole group would be the most effective and the fastest. It has been also suggested that Switzerland and Sweden join the action.

What Are the Guarantees for the West?

Establishing a body which would be able to exert a current influence on economy: an extraordinary parliamentary committee of both its chambers with a right of influencing the economic policy and decisions of the Polish Government would give the West a minimum of guarantees (that the aid will not be wasted).

During my talks in the West, not even once did I hear suggestions that Solidarnosc should enter a coalition government. On the contrary, the idea evoked much skepticism while many questions concerned just the real possibilities of influencing economic decisions. And the extraordinary parliamentary committee is the answer.

What Will be the Western Aid to Poland?

We shall learn what the Western aid to Poland will be in a fortnight or so after the new government has been formed. But the decisions of the Paris Club, the IMF, [International Monetary Fund] and the World Bank have already been secured.

The basic problem continues to be the insufficient confidence in Poland on the part of Western investors. This applies to their attitude towards both the government and Solidarity. There is no coherent programme of transforming Poland's economy, decreasing the role of the state in it. Such a programme is only now beginning to shape up, Geremek said.

Officer Discusses Soviet Bases, Problems

AU1307154589 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish
8 Jul 89 p 5

[Interview with Division General Mieczyslaw Debicki, government plenipotentiary for affairs relating to the stationing of Soviet forces in Poland, by Aleksander Checko; date and place not given: "Moving Toward the Eastern Border"]

[Text] Aleksander Checko: As announced, several units of the Soviet Army have already left Poland and others will undoubtedly be withdrawn. What was the legal basis for their presence in Poland? No official documents were issued immediately after the war.

Mieczyslaw Debicki: It is true that affairs relating to the presence of Soviet forces in Poland were first regulated by an agreement between the Governments of Poland and the USSR on the legal status of Soviet forces that are temporarily stationed in Poland. The agreement was signed on 17 December 1956, ratified on 14 May 1957, and made public in DZIENNIK USTAW No 29, 1957. The agreement stipulates, among other things, that units of the Soviet Armed Forces which are temporarily stationed in Poland cannot violate the sovereignty of the Polish state in any way and cannot interfere in the internal affairs of the Polish People's Republic. Soviet troop movements outside the areas in which they are stationed require the consent of the Polish Government or other appropriate Polish authorities on every occasion. Soviet soldiers and members of their families are obliged to respect and observe Polish laws.

The extent of Polish and Soviet jurisdiction with respect to Soviet personnel belonging to military units that are stationed in Poland, as well as the problem of Soviet military transit movements across our territory, are covered by separate agreements.

[Checko] What happens in practice when, for example, a Soviet soldier commits a crime in our country?

[Debicki] The agreement on mutual legal assistance states, among other things, that both sides will inform each other about crimes or misdemeanors committed by Soviet soldiers and will render mutual assistance in legal proceedings. Under this framework of cooperation, our military prosecutors pass on the material that they have gathered during their investigations to Soviet military courts, which then apply the law with all due severity.

On the other hand, other concrete matters relating to, for example, Soviet forces' use of barracks, airfields, exercise grounds, and firing ranges, along with equipment, facilities, buildings, means of transportation and communications, electrical power, municipal and trade services, and conditions of payment are covered by separate agreements that have been concluded between the appropriate authorities on both sides. Most of these are intergovernmental agreements that are implemented by the appropriate ministries.

[Checko] Does the Soviet side pay for all services? What is the status of the land, barracks, and firing ranges used by Soviet forces?

[Debicki] The agreement states, among other things, that services, the provision of electric power, water, gas, and goods produced in Poland are provided against payment on the basis of separate contracts. Prices are fixed by separate agreements, and the Soviet side makes payments in both transfer rubles and zlotys.

The Soviet side also pays rent for the use of realty (barracks, airfield facilities, ports, and other buildings). However, in accordance with the agreement, no payment is made for the use of firing ranges. Of course, all of this does not affect their status. The general principle, which also applies to facilities that are built here, is that everything that is on Polish soil is Polish.

[Checko] How do Soviet units obtain foodstuffs? Who builds their living quarters?

[Debicki] The Soviet side has organized its own supply system for the military trade network, and this essentially satisfies their needs regarding foodstuffs and manufactured goods. The Polish "MARKO" foreign trade company supplies goods under the internal export system in return for payment in rubles, and under the domestic trade system in return for payment in zlotys.

The Soviet side deals with matters relating to living conditions, including housing, by itself. In general, they use barracks and living quarters that come under restricted facilities. However, the Polish enterprises "Budimex" and "EXBUD" are involved in the investment work that becomes necessary with the passage of time. The Soviet side carries out some of the investment work entirely by itself.

As we can see, the Polish side is only involved with matters relating to the social, living conditions of Soviet military units to a very limited degree, and there are never any problems of a more serious kind in this area.

[Checko] However, as far as I know, do such problems occur with respect to direct contacts between Soviet soldiers and local civilian populations?

[Debicki] Something worth thinking about is that when there are direct, personal contacts between these two groups, there are no cases of, for example, extremist slogans being voiced or of demands that Soviet forces immediately leave our country.

In many places, close relations have been established between troops belonging to the units stationed in them and members of the local population. There is widespread participation in both official and private events that are organized jointly. Friendships are formed (although there have been no more than a few marriages over the years). There is a Soviet opthalmologist at the base of the unit stationed in Swidnice who enjoys enormous popularity and attracts patients from—this is no exaggeration—all over Poland.

As is usually the case among people, there are examples that deserve support and should be publicized, as well as incidents that are reprehensible, ones that are connected with breaches of public order regulations, and there are even cases of crimes being committed. The Soviet commanders and courts impose very harsh punishments in such cases. Incidentally, the great majority of the cases concern automobile accidents that are connected with soldiers' violating traffic regulations.

There are also unfortunate incidents, such as the one in which a missile that was accidently released from an aircraft exploded. As a result, a Polish citizen was killed, and two buildings and several houses in the village of Wilkocin in Legnice Voivodship were destroyed. There was also the case involving the detonation of explosive materials that were stored in an ammunition storage area in Trzebien in Zielona Gora Voivodship. There were no casualties, but some damage was caused to buildings. The Soviet side paid the costs connected with the damage.

Sometimes, during exercises, a bridge is destroyed, a road is damaged, and to gardens or fields is caused. When this happens, Soviet units carry out repairs or pay refunds. There are cases of incidents of this kind prompting hostility. It is understandable that such incidents should elicit a reaction, but the reactions are sometimes excessive in relation to what has actually occurred.

[Checko] However, people in Wilkocin had to wait 2 years for compensation!

[Debicki] Yes, but that was not the fault of the Soviet side, which immediately expressed its readiness to help to refund costs. The delay was due to sluggishness on the part of our officials. It is the State Insurance Bureau's responsibility to estimate the cost of the damage that has occurred, to make immediate payments to citizens, and only then to claim a refund itself. Anyway, the matter was successfully dealt with in May, and the Soviet side agreed to pay a higher amount of compensation despite an earlier agreement.

[Checko] You and General Korbutov, your Soviet counterpart who is always in Poland, as well as the mixed commission deal with similar problems on a daily basis. What is the scale of these problems? Which are the most common problems?

[Debicki] We have 300 to 400 concrete matters of varying degrees of importance to deal with over the course of the year. I mentioned some of them a moment ago.

In recent years, for example, we have noticed an increasing number of problems concerning the protection of the natural environment. Boilers that were built in closed barrack complexes and that are no longer completely efficient as a result of age are a nightmare for the inhabitants of Swidnice. Modern filter equipment is being installed there now, but there are still a lot of complaints.

A lot of complaints about military aircraft flying low over inhabited areas are also sent to the Sejm, the State Council, the government, Polish United Workers Party Central Committee, the Ministry of National Defense, and other institutions. This particularly applies to the air bases at Bagicz and Brzeg, but not only to them. The problem was accorded particular attention at the meeting of government plenipotentiaries on 17 February, which was attended by representatives of the National Air Defense Forces and the commander of the Soviet operational air unit in Poland. A new Polish Army General Staff directive was formulated regulating flights by military aircraft over Polish territory and setting mutual limits for such flights. Markedly fewer complaints were received in May and June.

Forest fires are another serious problem. These are often caused by carelessness on the part of soldiers or even a lack of concern for fire safety on the part younger commanders. Apart from the damage being made up for by Soviet Army units, these matters were the subject of a special briefing for unit commanders that was given in June and involved the general director of state forests and the directors of district state forest councils.

[Checko] Do you, by reason of your official position, receive direct complaints from Polish citizens concerning these Soviet Army units which are stationed in Poland?

[Debicki] Yes. Some people write in quite regularly. I receive letters from a regular correspondent who lives in a town of under 100,000 inhabitants, who has persistently complained of the noise caused by Soviet fighters. He is the sole person to complain from that town. More recently, somebody telephoned asking whether I was aware that the Soviet Army was busily engaged in training maneuvers near Grojec.

[Checko] Were you aware?

[Debicki] Of course. We receive all information regarding any armed forces movements. In that particular instance the Soviet unit in question formed part of a larger motorized formation which was being withdrawn from the GDR, and this unit had its designated rest point in that area.

[Checko] On the subject of "armed forces movements"—this has given you a lot of work recently. Can you tell us how many Soviet Army units are to be withdrawn from Poland and what problems are involved in this?

[Debicki] I must stress that the withdrawal of all the designated Soviet Army units from the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland is an element of the disarmament policy undertaken by the leadership of the Soviet Union and the governments of all the socialist states. Mikhail Gorbachev, the Soviet leader, in his speech at the United Nations last December, stated that in the years 1989-90 the Soviet Union will unilaterally reduce its Armed Forces by 500,000 soldiers, 10,000 tanks, 8,500 artillery pieces and mortars, and 800 warplanes. Armaments production will be reduced by 19.5 percent, and expenditure on armaments will be cut by 14.2 percent. In total this will amount to a 12-percent reduction of Soviet military potential.

In the European part of the Soviet Union and in the Warsaw Pact countries, the Soviet Armed Forces will be reduced by 240,000 men. In the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland these forces will be cut by 50,000 soldiers and 5,000 tanks.

[Checko] How many units will be withdrawn from Poland itself? How many soldiers will leave, and how many will remain? The Hungarians have stated that there are 35,000 Soviet troops stationed in Hungary.

[Debicki] For the time being the numbers of troops which are stationed here remains a military secret. I can only state that in concrete terms the following units will leave Poland: an antiaircraft rocket regiment, a training regiment of tanks, an independent helicopter regiment, and two independent battalions will leave in 1989, and an independent assault [desantowo-szturmowa] brigade will leave in 1990.

The unilateral withdrawal of designated Soviet Army units from the GDR, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary began in March this year. In the case of Poland, an independent motorized battalion left in June, and a Soviet training tank regiment began its pull out of the Zielona Gora Voivodship on 1 July.

[Checko] Do you know what is to happen to the buildings and the bases formerly occupied by the Soviet Army units?

[Debicki] This matter is still being negotiated with the Soviet side. There was a meeting of the plenipotentiaries of the two governments on 26 June. I can state, however, that where possible, the existing living quarters and other buildings will be turned over to the local population.

National Assembly To Elect President 19 Jul

LD1707192989 Warsaw PAP in English
1711 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 17: Acting in accordance with Article 32 B, Para 1 of the Polish Constitution, the Sejm speaker has decided to convene the National Assembly for this July 19.

The agenda of the meeting, to start at 15.00 hrs, provides for election of Poland's president.

Further on Jaruzelski, Presidential Decision

Jaruzelski Addresses Consultative Council

LD1707193489 Warsaw PAP in English
1819 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 17: The Consultative Council at the president [as received] of the Council of State held its last, 12th session today.

Wojciech Jaruzelski cordially thanked the council for the nearly three-year fruitful activity for the process of democratization, dialogue and national agreement.

He stressed that it had been just at the forum of the Consultative Council that exponents of various views and stands had met for the first time. They took seats at one table for the good of the common cause, leaving various resentments and prejudice aside.

A bold, far-reaching vision of Polish affairs, opinions, remarks and suggestions presented by members of the council had a real impact on the creation of some social facts or on political developments. They contributed to finding positive solutions to various difficult, controversial problems, helped shape the atmosphere conducive to making a decision of such break-through importance as the convening of round table debates.

Concluding their activity, the council's members underlined with all their might that only in conditions of social peace is it possible to make further progress in the country's political, social and economic life, that only a stable Poland can enjoy respect, appreciation, due prestige the world over.

During the debates many members of the council turned to Jaruzelski to reconsider his to-date negative decision on running for president. They underscored that the process of deep democratic changes, closely linked with the person of Gen. Jaruzelski, required an effective and competent continuation as well as understanding and guarantees on the international arena.

The debates lasted four hours.

Jaruzelski Announces Candidature

AU1707192789 Paris AFP in English
1827 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 17 (AFP)—Polish leader Wojciech Jaruzelski will be a candidate for president when the new bi-cameral legislature votes on the post Wednesday, Senate leader Andrzej Stelmachowski, who is a member of the Solidarity opposition, said Monday.

The statement was confirmed by other reliable sources, who said Gen. Jaruzelski himself had told a closed-door parliamentary meeting Monday that he "planned to stand as a candidate to pursue" the political and economic reforms underway in Poland.

The sources said the meeting was called by the legislature, where Solidarity now controls one of the two houses, to question Gen Jaruzelski about several critical issues including his December, 1981, order that clamped a state of siege onto the nation and banned the Solidarity union. It was only re-legalized last April.

Mr. Stelmachowski, meanwhile, said Gen Jaruzelski, who has expressed reluctance over running, told him last Thursday that he would stand for election.

He made the statement early Monday at a meeting of opposition legislators here to discuss what line to take in the presidential election.

Gen Jaruzelski's change of mind followed "the express demand" of army generals and the communist party as well as unspecified "outside factors," Mr. Stelmachowski said.

Observers here said those factors included the attitude of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, who has recently suggested he favours the general.

Solidarity leader Lech Walesa has ruled out running for president, and said last week that the union no longer opposed the candidacy of Gen Jaruzelski, who currently acts as head of state.

Jaruzelski Sees 'Duty' To Run

LD1807102289 Warsaw PAP in English 1005 GMT 18 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 18—During today's meeting of the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] floor group, Wojciech Jaruzelski said that taking into account new circumstances and facts and the stand of the coalition, he agreed to run for president, being guided by the sense of duty.

AFP Reports Jaruzelski To Stand

AU1807074889 Paris AFP in English 0208 GMT 18 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 18 (AFP)—Polish leader Wojciech Jaruzelski has said he will be a candidate when the new bicameral legislature votes to choose a president Wednesday [19 July].

Senate leader Andrzej Stelmachowski, a member of the Solidarity opposition, told a meeting of parliamentarians Monday that General Jaruzelski had told him privately on Thursday that he intended to run.

The meeting, called to discuss what line to take in the presidential election, also welcomed the restoration of diplomatic relations between Poland and the Vatican on Monday after a 50-year break.

Mr. Stelmachowski said that Gen. Jaruzelski, who earlier said he would not be a candidate, had changed his mind at the "express request" of "Army generals and the Polish Communist Party."

Deputies and senators called Monday's meeting to question Gen. Jaruzelski about critical issues including his December 1981 order that clamped a state of emergency on the nation and banned the independent trade union Solidarity, which was relegalized only in April.

At the closed-door meeting, according to reliable sources, Gen. Jaruzelski told opposition members that he "planned to stand as a candidate to pursue" political and economic reforms currently under way in Poland.

Accompanied by Interior Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak, one of the architects of the government's deal with the Solidarity-led opposition that paved the way for last month's parliamentary elections, the Polish leader made a long speech condemning Stalinism, but said that the ills of Stalinism were "curable".

He defended his imposition of the state of emergency as "essential to avoid the worst", an implicit reference to the possibility of Soviet military intervention in Poland.

He compared himself to former French President Charles de Gaulle, who he said was "the only person who could get France out of the Algerian mire."

General de Gaulle initially opposed independence for Algeria, but later organized a referendum that led the former French colony to independence in 1962.

Gen. Jaruzelski refused to be pinned down, however, on a schedule for the democratic reforms he has promised and which the opposition sees as leading to Western-style parliamentary democracy.

"Failure of the reforms currently under way would be a defeat for Poland and for me," he said.

Several deputies said the general's explanations had "disappointed" the meeting, which continued into the evening on Monday as Gen. Jaruzelski still had to answer nearly 70 questions asked by Solidarity legislators.

Observers believe that Gen. Jaruzelski's change of mind on running for the presidency was prompted by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

Solidarity leader Lech Walesa has said he would not be a candidate, and said last week that the union was no longer opposed to Gen. Jaruzelski's candidacy.

Citizen's Club for Open Voting for President

LD1707212889 Warsaw PAP in English 1708 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 17—At today's session the Citizens' Parliamentary Club came out in favour of the election of president in open voting by roll call. During the discussion on draft regulations of the National Assembly participants in the session supported the motion to allow only representataives of caucuses to take the floor during the debate of the National Assembly and make statements and put questions to candidate for president.

The debates focused on two proposed variants of solutions: to allow or not for a discussion during the National Assembly's meeting and to decide on open or secret voting for president. It was pointed out that free debates on candidacies for president might become a kind of a trial in relation to them, on the other hand, it was stated that the election of president should not make an impression that it is only a formality.

In this conncection it was suggested that a requirement should be introduced that a candidate should make a sort of expose in which he would take a stand on earlier prepared questions by members of the National Assembly, among other things.

The group's deputies and senators got acquainted with a report on the course of the work of the extraordinary committee on the bill on indexation.

Also discussed were issues related to a meeting between the club and president of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski, to take place today.

Democratic Party Favors Jaruzelski for President

LD1707214989 Warsaw PAP in English 1927 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 17: At its plenary meeting here today, the Democratic Party Central Committee (DP CC) approved Wojciech Jaruzelski's candidature to the post of Poland's president while at the same time speaking for the separation of the presidential post from a party function.

DP CC urged the DP parliamentary floor group to support this candidacy at the meeting of the National Assembley on July 19.

DP Central Committee confirmed the will of the 14th DP Congress concerning guarantees that the next president be elected in the general ballot by the whole nation.

Party Leader Interviewed

LD1707220389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Excerpt] A closed plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the SD [Democratic Party] was held in Warsaw, attended by members of the parliamentary SD and chairmen of the voivodship organisations of the party. The meeting discussed the election of the highest authorities: the president and the government. Grazyna Zielinska asked Jan Janowski, leader of the parliamentary SD, for an interview.

[Begin recording] [Zielinska] During today's meeting support was expressed for Wojciech Jaruzelski as a candidate for presidency. But it is known that this support was not unanimous.

[Janowski] The atmosphere of the meeting reflected what has been going on in the parliamentary SD since talks on this subject have started, and which found expression at a meeting with General Jaruzelski. Simply, various public reservations are expressed, which concern in particular three periods: the joint responsibility of the general who was the member of the highest political authorities and the government in the 1968-1980 period; the issue of failing to take advantage of the martial law period to carry out radical political and economic reforms—which according to the public and many of our deputies is being done now, very much later, 7 years late—and finally, perhaps to a lesser degree an issue of whether it was necessary to introduce the martial law itself. This was considered as an important issue, but one which has already been discussed at length—and but still not explained.

[Zielinska] But most votes were in favour of Wojciech Jaruzelski for president.

[Janowski] This certifies to a certain political realism: At this juncture it would be difficult to find a candidate who would have the support of the overwhelming majority and at the same time would guarantee the proper functioning of the state. Because of this the situation in Poland is such that it demands a quick solution to the problem of appointment of the president. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Modzelewski Queried on Presidential Candidacies

LD1707235589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Text] Wojciech Jaruzelski, accompanied by Czeslaw Kiszczak and Marian Orzechowski, met the citizens parliamentary committee, OKP, today. The meeting was also attended by Senate Speaker Andrzej Stelmachowski. During the break in the meeting a press conference was given by Karol Modzelewski.

[Begin recording] One of the questions was: Is the situation regarding the appointment of the president getting clearer or more obscure?

[Modzelewski] It is difficult to tell because the decisions are not in our hands. I think that the fact itself that General Jaruzelski and General Kiszczak arrived at the meeting points to the fact that the candidature of Gen Jaruzelski is considered by the party very seriously. During the meeting it was mostly Gen Jaruzelski who spoke, and he spoke about his possible candidature. However, this is my personal interpretation. As for the club's stance, it has not passed any decisions yet—we are meeting again tomorrow. But it is obvious, in my view, that the stance of Lech Walesa that the president can only be elected from among the governing coalition and that we shall cooperate with any such elected candidate in the interest of Poland will be met with understanding. This of course does not prejudge the issue on how we are going to vote—this is my private view that I stress.

[Unidentified correspondent] Did Gen Jaruzelski say clearly that he changed his decision to withdraw from being a presidential candidate, and if so, did he give any arguments why he changed his decision?

[Modzelewski] No, he did not say it clearly, it seemed from what he said that he was considering such a possibility—what is more, he added a sentence before the break which would indicate that he is not quite sure what decision he will take.

[Unidentified correspondent] Did Gen Kiszczak appear as the head of Ministry [of Interior] or as a presidential candidate? Was it defined?

[Modzelewski] All his statements were, in principle, the statements of the head of the Ministry or a main party negotiator at the Round Table. This is how I see it. The questions concerning the future were directed sometimes to both generals and then both made pronouncements, however, I would say if I can give my impression here, that it was Gen Jaruzelski, rather than Gen Kiszczak, who appeared in the role of a presidential candidate.

[Unidentified correspondent] Was there a question on the attitude of Gen Jaruzelski to the demonstration which is taking place at the building of the Sejm?

[Modzelewski] There was a question to Gen Kiszczak, and the question was: Did he not think that the disturbance caused by the militia while breaking up the picket outside the Sejm—I think that the picket is still there today—was to the detriment of his possible candidature for president? Gen Kiszczak evaded expressing views on the topic which was formulated in this manner, however, he expressed his view on the incident itself. He said that the demonstrations outside the Chinese Embassy, which are much more risky, took place many times without the slightest intervention from the militia and he was critical about the actions of the functionaries of his ministry in connection with the detention of the picket. But this concerned the way in which these functionaries acted and not the political interpretation of this event. [end recording]

EEC Makes Plans To Send Emergency Food Aid
AU1807072289 Paris AFP in English
2330 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Excerpt] Brussels, July 18 (AFP)—The European Economic Community plans to give Poland emergency food aid under a relief programme decided at the Paris summit of the Group of Seven leading industrial powers, diplomats said Monday.

EEC foreign ministers meeting here decided to use at least part of the community's "available stocks" of cereals and meat.

The EEC's executive, the European Commission, will present the plan to agriculture ministers who are to meet Monday, when they may formally approve it.

The value of the aid was not specified.

The EEC has enough stocks to supply immediate aid in cereals and beef. It has about 100,000 tonnes of beef available and in May had more than two million tonnes of cereals, although it has no available stocks of milk or butter. The commission is to call a meeting of experts later this month to examine ways of better coordinating future food aid to Poland. The experts will be from the EEC, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development and the European Free Trade Association. [passage omitted]

Spokesman Statement on Renewal of Vatican Ties
LD1707154889 Warsaw PAP in English 1419 GMT
17 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 17—Press spokesman for the Polish Foreign Ministry Stefan Staniszewski has sent to PAP the following statement on reestablishing diplomatic relations between Poland and the Holy See:

The reestablishment of diplomatic relations between Poland and the Holy See which will find a formal expression in the presence of Poland's ambassador in the Vatican and the apostolic nuncio in Warsaw in the manifestation of curent good relations between the state and the Catholic Church in Poland and between this country and the Vatican.

The good state of relations between the state and the Roman Catholic Church was reflected this year in the adoption of proper bills by the parliament which regulate all matters of both sides' concern.

As regards relations between Poland and the Vatican, their current reestablishment concludes talks which both sides started still in 1971 and next transformed into permanent working contacts in 1974.

Poland and the Holy See has been developing a dialogue, particularly active within the CSCE [conference on security and cooperation in Europe] process and concerning the issues of peace and security. The reestablishment of relations between the two states is expected to add new stimuli to this dialogue.

This fact is also very important for Polish society as well as for the Roman Catholic Church. Its meaning is symbolic as the head of the Vatican state is our eminent compatriot John Paul II.

Puncture Wounds Reportedly on Dead Priest's Body
LD1707170389 Warsaw PAP in English
1450 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 17—A report carried by GAZETA WYBORCZA (ELECTION GAZETTE) today and concerning the death of Father Sylwester Zych in Krynica Morska on July 11 said, among other things:

"At a session of the parliamentary floor group of the United Peasants' Party on July 14 General Czeslaw Kiszczak was asked about the death of Father Sylwester Zych. In addition to generally known reports, the minister said that there were numerous traces of punctures on the body of the priest. It is still not clear how they were made. Causes can be many," the minister said, according to GAZETA WYBORCZA.

Solidarity's Frasyniuk on Topical Problems

AU1707134989 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 17 Jul 89 p 8

[Interview with Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, chairman of the Lower Silesian Solidarity Organization, by Aureliusz Pedziwol; place and date not given: "The People Are Prepared To Make Sacrifices"]

[Text] DIE PRESSE: In 1981 it was stated that the Poles are prepared for many sacrifices in the course of reforms. Are they also prepared for them today, after the bad experiences they have had since that time?

Wladyslaw Frasyniuk: I believe so. If they are offered the opportunity to control the changes in their enterprises, cities, villages, and in the whole country by themselves, they will be able to cope with many things and renounce many things. They have to feel that they are the landlords in their own country.

[Pedziwol] However, did the protests after the latest price increases not show that the people's patience has been exhausted?

[Frasyniuk] In my opinion, things are different. With its latest price increases the government has done everything to provoke a general strike in the country. The only thing the people demand is financial compensation for these price increases. Here the people also use strikes as a weapon, though with caution for the time being.

[Pedziwol] Is your criticism aimed at the rulers in general or only against the Rakowski government?

[Frasyniuk] Against the Rakowski government. The latest price increases were by no means justified. I asked the finance minister: "What purpose do the price increases serve, what results do you expect, what plan is behind it?" He answered that there is no concrete plan, but that the state simply needs the money to pay the wages.

The creation of a mechanism to offset the price increases was actually announced, but so far the State Council has not adopted a decree to this effect. However, it has to be stressed that a balancing mechanism will not replace the struggle for wage increases, it will only offset the price increases.

[Pedziwol] What are the other problems that have to be solved?

[Frasyniuk] It is not a slogan when we consistently demand: The economy has to be depoliticized! In addition, the economy has to be restructured and new forms of property—private property, joint stock companies, etc.—have to be introduced. Moreover, we need a democratic decision mechanism to solve social conflicts.

[Pedziwol] Is the danger of large-scale unemployment imminent in Poland?

[Frasyniuk] This problem will certainly arise in Poland, too. However, I do not see the danger of structural unemployment at present. Because the services sector in our country is very underdeveloped and can absorb many workers.

[Pedziwol] Is there actually a "script" for the success of the process of reforms? In 1981 nobody wanted to see the dangers until 13 December and the violent end of Solidarity Trade Union.

[Frasyniuk] The Poles know how to conspire. They also are not afraid of prison and do not need to prepare themselves for it. My personal assessment of the situation is also basically optimistic. I am convinced that some day we will be able to live in a normal, democratic country.

SCINTEIA Publishes 14th RCP Congress Theses

AU1307090689 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 5 Jul 89 pp 1-4

["Theses of the 14th RCP Congress on the Development of Romanian Society, Improvement of Socioeconomic Management, Development of Workers Revolutionary Democracy, Enhancement of the Role of the Romanian Communist Party, the Intensification of the Ideological, Political-Education Activity, the Improvement of the Level of Scientific and Cultural Knowledge, and of Revolutionary Awareness, on the Balance of Forces and the Basic Characteristic of the International Situation"]

[Text] The 14th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] is an event of historical significance in our country's socioeconomic activity and in the activity of our party and people.

Taking place in the year of the 45th anniversary of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation, the congress will be an opportunity for a profound and comprehensive assessment of the road traveled by the Romanian people in socialist construction, particularly after the Ninth RCP Congress, and of the activity carried out to implement the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and National Conference; it will examine the current stage of Romanian society and will set forth the goals and guidelines for Romania's development in the 1991-95 period, and up to the years 2000-2010. Through the decisions it will adopt, the congress will go down in history as the congress of great socialist victories, of the triumph of the principles of scientific socialism in the revolutionary transformation of Romanian society, and of Romania's genuine sovereignty and complete economic and political independence.

The 14th RCP Congress theses will be an opportunity for the Communists and working people to broadly discuss the basic problems of socialist construction in our homeland and will ensure the formulation, in a democratic way, of the general line and long-term guidelines for our country's development. Thus the decisions that are to be adopted by the congress will reflect the aspirations and will of the entire party and people.

I. Discussion of the 1988 April Theses and of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Speech at the RCP Central Committee Plenum of November 1988 and April 1989—an Expression of the Profound Democracy of our Society and of the Strong Unity Between the Party and People

The 14th RCP Congress Theses are based on the assessments and guidelines put forward in the speeches by the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, at the Political Executive Committee meeting of April 1988, at the great democratic forum in November last year, and at the RCP Central Committee plenum of April 1989, which were broadly discussed by the Communists and by the working people, and adopted by the entire party and people as programmatic documents for building the new system in the current historic stage, on the basis of the consistent and creative application of the principles of scientific socialism to the specific conditions in Romania. The theses have been developed and improved on the basis of the discussions within the RCP Central Committee plenum of 27-28 June and on the basis of the masterly speech made by the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, at that plenum.

These documents excellently sum up the experience of the Romanian people and of our Communist Party, and are a fresh and important contribution by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu to creatively developing and enriching scientific socialism and revolutionary practice.

The discussion of the ideas, theses, and guidelines set forth in Nicolae Ceausescu's speeches—the broadest and most comprehensive discussion ever conducted by our party and our society—has been a genuine school for revolutionary and patriotic education of the Communists, the working people, and the whole society. They have turned into a genuine referendum whereby our nation has expressed its complete adherence to the party and state policy. The discussions have taken place in a high spirit of communist and patriotic responsibility, and in a spirit of critical and self-critical analysis of the activity in all areas, thus tellingly demonstrating the profoundly democratic nature of our party and our workers revolutionary democracy.

The participants in the discussions unanimously and vigorously pointed out the decisive and priceless contribution made by the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, to substantiating and formulating our entire domestic and foreign policy, and to the work of building socialism in our country. On this occasion, the workers class, intellectuals, and all our people paid great homage to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the great leader of our socialist nation, ingenious founder of our party's revolutionary strategy, initiator of Romania's embarking on the road to communism, a front-ranking militant of the communist and workers movement, and a prominent figure of the present-day world. The working people expressed their deep gratitude for the excellent way in which the party secretary general ensures the consistent implementation of the principles of scientific socialism in our country by leading the Romanian nation, with great revolutionary determination, on the road of well-being and happiness.

At the same time, the participants in the discussions emphasized the particular contribution made by Comrade Academician Dr Engineer Elena Ceausescu, eminent politician, scientist of world reputation, and front-ranking militant of our party and state, to the formulation and implementation of the programs for our country's development, to the organization and modernization of activities in all socioeconomic sectors, and to the progress of science, technology, education, and culture.

The discussion of these historic documents has clearly proved that there is an unshakable and complete unity between the party and people, and that the Romanian people—closely united around the party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu—are firmly determined to freely and consciously shape their destiny, the socialist and communist destiny.

II. The Romanian People's Millenium-Old Struggle for Social and National Freedom, Independence, and Unity

The construction of the new system in Romania is a lawful result of historic development, of the long-lasting struggle waged by the Romanian people, the democratic and progressive forces, by the workers class and its party against exploitation and oppression and for a better, free, and independent life.

Throughout millenia, the socioeconomic systems known in the development process of humanity succeeded each other in our country. The Geto-Dacians—the ancestors of the Romanian people—lived and developed on this territory thousands of years before. Of great importance was the creation of the centralized Geto-Dacian state under Burebista's rule 2,060 years ago, which experienced great prosperity during Decebal's time. The fact that the Romans, after long-lasting struggles and all the negative consequences, these brought, conquered apart of Dacia, led to the blending of these two civilizations, thus forming the Romanian people.

After the withdrawal of the Roman Army and Administration in the 3d century of our time, the local population organized its life within independent state-type formations—principalities and voivodships—thus ensuring its continuity and ability to defend itself against the invasion of various tribes and migrating populations with an inferior level of civilization. The establishment of the three feudal states—Wallachia, Transylvania, and Moldavia—marked a higher stage of the development of Romanian society. In the struggle for freedom and independence, a decisive role was played by the broad people's masses, primarily the peasants, who throughout centuries represented the main force of social progress and the country's defense.

Based on their common origin, language, and culture, strong economic and political links developed among the three Romanian provinces, thus leading to the assertion of national awareness and to an intensified struggle for being united within a single state. The unification of the Romanian provinces in 1600 under the glorious rule of Mihai Viteazul, fulfilled—although for only a short time—our People's unshakable desire to live united within their ancestral borders.

The delay in the formation of the Romanian nation state can be ascribed to foreign domination, to exploitation and oppression by the Ottoman Empire, the Tsarist Empire, and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which stopped the development of the Romanian provinces for hundreds of years. However, the yoke of foreign domination was unable to hamper our people's just struggle to achieve their national ideal and for progress and civilization. In the modern era, the basic aspirations of the Romanian people gained new scope; they were clearly demonstrated in the 1784, 1821, and 1848 revolutions, which gave an impetus to our society's development in general and created conditions for achieving national unity.

The achievement in 1859 of the modern Romanian nation state through the unification of Moldavia and Wallachia under Alexandru Ioan Cuza's rule constituted the core of the united nation state; the extensive and deep-going reforms applied on that occasion put Romania among the ranks of the advanced states in the world.

The proclamation on 9 May 1877 of Romania's full state independence and its sanctioning in the 1877-78 war were a vigorous reaffirmation of the desire of all Romanians to live in a free, united, and sovereign country, and ensured conditions for the progress of the forces of production and for speeding up socioeconomic development.

III. The Construction of Socialism—a Lawful Historic Requirement of Social Development. The Emergence of the Workers Movement—a Higher Stage in the Romanian People's Struggle for Social and National Freedom. The Struggle Waged by the Romanian Workers Class and Its Revolutionary Political Party to Overthrow the Old System and Go Over to the Construction of the New Society

The development of the forces of production, the emergence of capitalist relations of production, and the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie necessarily led to the emergence of the revolutionary movement and to the adoption of the principles of scientific socialism by this movement. The workers class asserted itself in the political arena of that time as the most advanced social and consistently revolutionary force in the struggle to eliminate the exploitation of man by man and build socialism.

From the very beginning, the workers class adopted its own organizational forms to ensure the success of its revolutionary struggle and to fulfill its historic mission.

On the basis of the principles of scientific socialism formulated by K. Marx and F. Engels, in 1893 the Social-Democratic Workers Party of Romania was created, one of the first workers parties in Europe, which included in its program of struggle the overthrow of the capitalist system and the construction of socialist society.

The Romanian Communist Party, which was created on 8 May 1921 as a result of the democratic vote of the delegations to Socialist Party Congress of turning this party into a communist party, strengthened the unity of action of the workers class in the great battles against exploitation, oppression, and foreign monopolies, and for a free, dignified, and independent life.

When Hitlerism came to power in Germany and the threat of fascism, war, and revisionism increased, the RCP broadened its revolutionary struggle to unite the people's masses to defend Romania's integrity and sovereignty. Within the framework of events during the difficult years underground, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's heroic and dedicated activity to defend the interests of the workers class and make the Romanian's people supreme ideals come true was clearly obvious. The fierce class struggle in the thirties culminated in the big patriotic antifascist and antiwar demonstration of May Day 1939, in the organization and holding of which Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu made a decisive contribution. The Communist Party was the one to organize and inspire the Romanian people's struggle against fascism, war, and against the domination of Hitlerite Germany, to overthrow the Antonescu dictatorship, and defend Romania's integrity and sovereignty.

The RCP and its basic cadres, within the ranks of which Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's heroic personality vigorously asserted itself, excellently organized and led the Romanian people to the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation of August 1944, which marked an epoch-making event in Romania's history, eliminated imperialist domination for good, and paved the way to genuine independence by creating conditions for the people to build their future as they wish, without any outside interference. The great historic act of 23 August 1944 created conditions for tremendous revolutionary changes, for eliminating exploitation and oppression, and for establishing the power of our workers class and of our whole people.

The victory of the revolution for social and national liberation and the transition to the construction of the new socialist society in Romania are an expression of the lawful requirement of social development and a result of the objective historical process of the succession of modes of production determined by the dialectics of the social process, by the need for balance between the development of the forces of production and the nature of production relations; they are the crowning of the long-lasting revolutionary struggle waged by the workers class under the Communist Party's leadership, and the historic work of the whole nation.

IV. The Stages of the Concerted Revolutionary Process of Building and Developing the New System in Romania

In the first stage—23 August 1944 up to 30 December 1947—the goals of the people's democratic revolution were fulfilled. With its whole economic and military potential, Romania participated in the antifascist war, up to the final victory over Hitlerite Germany. On 6 March 1945 the Worker-Peasant Democratic Government was installed, and on 30 December 1947 the monarchy was abolished and the republic proclaimed, thus concluding an era and initiating a new chapter in the history of the Romanian people.

The year 1948 marked the transition to a new stage—the stage of the socialist revolution. The creation of the single party of the workers class in February 1948 ensured the leading political force of our people on the road to socialism. The nationalization of the main means of production in June 1948 eliminated capitalist ownership and laid the foundations for the socialist development of the Romanian economy; through the completion of the cooperativization process of agriculture in 1962, the relations of socialist production were generally applied throughout the economy.

In both our country and in the world, life and revolutionary practice have demonstrated the basic and decisive role played by the socialist ownership of all people and by cooperative ownership in building the new system.

The constant development and strengthening of this ownership is a vital requirement, while any reduction of large-scale socialist ownership and a return to capitalist forms of ownership, including small-scale industry, will jeopardize not only socialist construction but the very socioeconomic development of the people, as well as their well-being and independence.

The revolutionary socioeconomic changes that took place in the 1948-65 period eliminated the exploitation of man by man and ensured the development of industry, agriculture, and of all sectors of activity on socialist foundations. Intensive work was carried out in this stage of socialist construction and many difficulties which are inherent in such extensive work were overcome. However, it must be said that there were mistakes and violations of socialist law, there were alien concepts of underrating the potential and ability of the Romanian people and of the workers class, and of distorting Romanian history, language, and culture, thus harming the socialist development of our homeland.

The party succeeded in overcoming these difficulties, eliminating negative things, and mobilizing the workers class, the peasantry, intelligentsia, and the whole nation within a tremendous constructive effort in order to ensure Romania's firm progress on the road of socioeconomic development, strengthen the new socialist system, and go over to the higher stage of the revolutionary process in our country.

V. The Ninth Congress—an Event of Historical Importance and a Turning Point that Marked the Beginning of a New Revolutionary Era in the Party's Activity and in the Work of Building Socialism in Our Homeland

In our country's revolutionary process, a radical turning point and a genuine historic crossroads was marked by the Ninth RCP Congress, when the great son of our nation and the communist hero of the modern Romanian nation, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, was elected to the helm of the RCP.

The ninth congress made a thorough and exacting analysis of the first stage of socialist construction and put forward principles and guidelines of basic significance for the revolutionary transformation of Romanian society.

The everlasting merit of the ninth congress and of the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, lay in the fact that it firmly broke with anachronistic theories and practices, with the mistaken idea of a "single model" of socialist construction, with bowing down to certain foreign ideas and forms of the organization of society which are at variance with the specific conditions in our country, and it eliminated the dogmatic and conservative thinking in all areas which hamper the party's revolutionary force and the people's creativity.

The ninth congress went down in history through the firm proclamation of our party's inalienable right to independently formulate its policy, revolutionary strategy, and tactics by creatively applying the universally valid truths and the principles of scientific socialism to the specific conditions in Romania, to our national characteristics, and to the realities and requirements of each historic stage.

In the whole policy of building socialism, the ninth congress focused on ensuring a strong technical-material base as a primary factor for society's comprehensive development. It also emphasized the objective need to constantly perfect the relations of production and social relations in accordance with the development of the forces of production.

The party started from the principle of scientific socialism, according to which the development of socialist democracy and the creation of conditions for the broad and direct participation of the working people's masses in running the socioeconomic activity constitute a lawful requirement for each new social system. This theses of fundamental importance was reflected in the principle formulated and consistently implemented by our party: "the construction of socialism with the people and for the people."

Of great importance was the fact that our glorious national history and our millenium-old progressive and revolutionary traditions regained their legitimate rights, and the historic truth about the origin, formation, and development of the Romanian people in this part of the world was reestablished.

In the spirit of the ninth congress guidelines, the new Constitution was adopted, which regulates by statute the broad democracy of our social system. Criticism of the mistakes, violations, and illegal conduct of previous periods was of great importance, as were measures taken to prevent such things from happening in our society and to strengthen and ensure the observance of socialist legality.

The ninth congress marked an essential event in strengthening our party from a political-organizational viewpoint and in dynamizing it, increasing its leading role in society, intensifying its links with the working people and the whole people, and in its affirmation as the representative of the vital interests of our nation.

The guidelines put forward by the ninth congress—in the formulation of which Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu played a decisive role—promoted a new spirit in the whole work of socialist construction, opened up broad prospects for the affirmation of the people's creative energy, restored our nation's feelings of dignity and confidence in their own potential, and strengthened their unshakable unity around the Communist Party.

VI. The Profound Revolutionary Changes That Took Place in the Economic, Social, Scientific, Educational, and Cultural Area in the Period Opened by the Ninth Congress

On the basis of the general line established by the ninth congress, a line which was strengthened and developed by all subsequent congresses and national conferences, and on the basis of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's theses that are of priceless theoretical and practical value regarding the objective law of enlarged socialist reproduction, the party set the people the task of achieving a high rate of accumulation, as a vital condition for eliminating our country's lags in the shortest possible time, and building a modern socialist economy. Within the framework of broad public discussions, our whole nation decided to annually allocate one-third of the national income to develop and modernize the forces of production, for industrialization, and to develop agriculture and the other branches of the national economy.

A telling example of the tremendous constructive effort made by our nation is the fact that some 90 percent of the fixed assets at the disposal of our society today were achieved in the wake of the ninth congress.

In efforts to develop and modernize the technical-material base of our society, the party has ensured a balanced distribution of the forces of production throughout all areas and counties, thus creating conditions for work for all citizens, full equality of rights for the working people, without any discrimination, and opportunities for all our country's residents to enjoy the achievements of socialist civilization.

The constant development and modernization of the forces of production was also possible because the erroneous ideas promoted before the ninth congress—according to which our own scientific research should not be developed—were eliminated. On the basis of the guidelines of the ninth congress, a broad network of research institutes and units was organized and science turned into a genuine force of the production process and also into a primary factor for our society's progress in general. We have a powerful scientific potential, we have important achievements in scientific and technical research, and we have long-term programs for all areas. The entire party and people highly value the role and decisive contribution of Comrade Elena Ceausescu to the progress and prosperity of Romanian science, culture, and education, and to the application of the achievements of the modern scientific-technical revolution throughout the work of socialist construction in our homeland.

In accordance with the provisions of the Program-Directives, in the coming period—by the end of the second millenium and the first 10-year periods of the third millenium—Romania will turn into a powerful force of scientific-technical progress, characterized by a high level of development in all areas. The very progress of the socialist society and the creation of conditions for Romania's transition to communism depend on this.

Starting from the law on the balance between the forces and relations of production, the party has taken a number of measures of particular importance to strengthen and perfect socialist ownership and ensure the affirmation—under better conditions—of the working people's position as collective owners of the means of production. Constant account was taken of the fact that strengthening and increasing socialist, state, and cooperative ownership is an essential condition for our society's revolutionary development and a means to avoid the emergence of forms of exploitation of man by man.

On the basis of the guidelines put forward by the ninth congress, measures were adopted aimed at perfecting the system of material incentive for the working people, and of firmly basing remuneration on the socialist principle of the quantity and quality of work. The party has worked to eliminate unjustified differences between incomes and to firmly base the entire social activity on the principles of socialist ethics and equity.

In the period that has elapsed since the ninth congress, our political system has been perfected, the democratization of the state, central, and local bodies ensured, the electoral law has been amended by introducing several candidacies for one deputy seat, and new democratic bodies have been created to ensure the participation of all categories of working people in running the society. The Socialist Democracy and Unity Front—that incorporates all mass and civic organizations, scientific and professional unions and associations of artists, as well as the Socialist Democracy and Unity Organizations within the ranks of which more than 4 million nonparty members are active—actually incorporates the whole nation and broadly reflects the democratic nature of our system.

The excellent results achieved since the Ninth Congress most convincingly testify to the correctness of the general policy promoted by our party, the realistic nature of its basic targets, and the tremendous transformational potential of socialism. They also reflect the dedication with which all our people are working to implement the party program, which is completely in keeping with our people's vital interests and aspirations.

The 24-year period that has elapsed since the Ninth Congress, which with justified pride is termed by all our people as the "Nicolae Ceausescu Era," has been the most fruitful in achievements throughout the history of the Romanian people.

VII. The Current Development Stage of the Romanian Socialist Society. The Great Successes Achieved on the Path of Building the Comprehensively Developed Socialist Society in Romania

In the 40 years of socialist construction, Romania has turned from a poorly developed and predominantly agrarian country into an agrarian-industrial country with a high level of civilization.

This year industrial output will be some 135-fold larger than in 1945, of which a 120-fold increase was achieved in the wake of the Ninth Congress. We have a modern industry that can manufacture very complex and highly technical products of outstanding quality. Agricultural yields have increased some 10-fold compared with 1945, of which more than six-fold after 1965. Our national wealth totals 5,178 billion lei, while the productive fixed assets total some 2,700 billion lei. This year the national revenue will be 40 times higher than in 1945, of which a 33-fold increase was achieved after the Ninth Congress.

The remuneration fund increased almost six-fold in the period following the Ninth Congress, while average pay increased three-fold and minimum pay more than 3.3-fold; thus a 1-4.7 ratio between low and high wages was achieved. An important role in improving the standard of living was played by sociocultural expenses financed from the state budget, which has constantly grown and which by 1990 is to amount to 14,900 lei per family compared to 3,530 lei in 1965.

The 10-grade educational system was given general application and by the end of the current 5-year plan the 12-grade educational system will be applied throughout the country. Medicare and the health protection system have developed considerably, hospitals, medical units, and other medical establishments have been built.

In March this year our country marked a historic event—the complete repayment of the foreign debt. For the first time in its long history, Romania does not pay tribute to anyone, and thus is now truly independent from an economic and political viewpoint.

From the heights they have climbed, all our people with justified pride are looking upon what has been achieved firmly determined to work to constantly improve all activities and to successfully implement the strategic targets of the party program for building the comprehensively developed socialist society and Romania's advancement toward communism.

VIII. The Achievements Attained by the Romanian People in the 1986-90 5-Year Plan in Implementing the Strategic Target Set Forth by the 13th RCP Congress of Romania's Transition to a New Stage of Development—the Stage of a Medium Developed Socialist Country

In the current 5-year plan (1986-90) fresh and important successes have been achieved in all socioeconomic activities. The development and modernization of the forces of production continued, social relations and workers revolutionary democracy improved, and further progress was made on the path of improving the material and cultural standard of living of all our people. The achievements attained up to now and the provisions for the last year of the current 5-year plan ensure the implementation—in general terms—of the 13th RCP Congress decisions on implementing the strategic goal of Romania's transition to the stage of a medium developed socialist country.

Throughout the current 5-year plan, industrial commodity-production will increase by some 40 percent. In agriculture, average annual yields of more than 30 million tonnes of grains have been achieved—the largest ever in our history. In investments, a volume of work totaling some 1,300 billion lei is underway and new and important industrial, agricultural, and zootechnical units have been put into operation. All counties have implemented a comprehensive program for the construction of housing and sociocultural establishments.

Important achievements have been attained in the economic efficiency indicators: Throughout the 5-year plan labor productivity will increase more than 35 percent in the national industry.

These successes have permitted a more than 10 percent increase in the real pay of working people compared with 1985. Pensions have increased on an average by 8 percent, while low pension have increased 40 percent. A particular success is the stability of prices and tariffs, the index of which was below the planned one. The material base of science, education, and culture has expanded and medicare has improved.

In this period Romania's participation in the international division of labor intensified, cooperation and collaboration with the CEMA member countries, with the other socialist countries, and with all countries in the world developed.

However, there have been shortfalls and difficulties in the socioeconomic activity, not everything proceeded smoothly. But what has been achieved demonstrates the potential and vitality of our socialist economy, the correctness of the party's general political line of building the new system, and our nation's determination to implement this political line. It is particularly significant that all achievements were attained amidst very serious world economic instability, that actually affected all countries, but especially the developing countries.

The successes achieved in the current 5-year plan create a lasting base for raising our homeland to new heights of progress and civilization.

IX. Romania's Transition to Building the Higher Stage of the Socialist Society. The Main Socioeconomic Development Targets in the Next 5-Year Plan and up to the Year 2000 and in the First 10-Year Period of the Third Millenium. The Implementation of the Programs for Intensive Development, of Perfecting the Organization and of Modernizing the Industry and Other Branches, on the Basis of the Most Modern Achievements of Science and Technology

In the next 10-year period Romania will join the ranks of the developed countries from an economic viewpoint; from the point of view of relations of production and of solving social problems our country has already surpassed the developed capitalist countries.

In accordance with the provisions of the Program-Directives of the 14th Congress, our party will work in the coming 5-year plan, up to the year 2000, and in the first 10-year period in the third millenium to continue the smooth development of the forces of production, to perfect relations of production and all social relations, achieve a new quality in work and life, strengthen workers revolutionary democracy, and ensure the participation of all our citizens in running the society and the complete assertion of the human personality.

In the Ninth 5-Year Plan, concerns will focus on the intensive development of the national economy, the implementation of programs for modernizing the production process, and on the achievement of a new quality of work in all areas—as an essential requirement for going over to the second stage of building the comprehensively developed socialist society.

Industrial commodity-production is to increase on the whole by some 30-35 percent. The domestic raw material and energy base will develop vigorously. The process of developing the processing industry will continue by giving priority to peak sectors. Labor productivity will increase more rapidly, consumption and costs will be reduced, and the profitability of each product and the national income per unit of fixed assets will increase.

Overall agricultural yields will increase 20-25 percent by making rational use of lands and by increasing their productive potential. Large yields will be achieved in general, so that by 2000-05 we will have stable yields of at least 40-45 million tonnes of grains per year. Agriculture will meet the requirements of the national economy and ensure supplies for our people in accordance with the scientifically-established level of consumption.

The policy in the area of investments—which will increase to 1.6-1.7 billion lei in the next 5-year plan—will permit the modernization of the means of production, the equipping of units with the most improved equipment, and the broad application of advanced technologies. Some 250 billion lei of investments will be allocated for agriculture, particularly for completing the national program for land improvement, while 250 billion lei will be allocated for the implementation of the program for the development and modernization of our homeland's localities.

Activities in all branches will be based on the most modern achievements of science and technology. This requires that research work concentrate even more on basic questions of progress so that Romania will be characterized by a strong potential in science, education, and culture in the next 10-year period. On the basis of programs formulated under the guidance of Comrade Academician Dr Engineer Elena Ceausescu, research work will be oriented toward modernizing industry, increasing agricultural yields and animal products, and toward developing all socioeconomic areas. The next 5-year plan will permit the professional training of some 2 million people.

Preserving a 28-30 percent rate of accumulation throughout the 1991-2000 period will ensure the necessary resources for both the intensive development of the economy and for improving the people's standard of living.

Working and living conditions for all citizens will improve; by 1995 the active population will total 12 million, while the number of the working personnel will total 8.18-8.24 million, that is some 68 percent of the active population. By 1995 average real pay will increase 5-8 percent compared with 1990, and the total incomes of cooperative farmers will also increase 5-8 percent. By the year 2000 an approximate 1-4.5 ratio will be ensured between low and high wages. When setting the minimum ceiling, we have to bear in mind that each working man is able to live a dignified and civilized life in accordance with scientifically-established requirements. These requirements have to be taken into consideration when setting low pensions. We have to continue to ensure the stability of prices.

Education will be linked more closely to the requirements of the national economy, the system of medical assistance will be developed, cultural activity will be improved, and important steps will be taken on the path of bringing working and living conditions of village residents closer to those in towns.

Through the construction of 700,000 apartments from state funds, the problem of housing will be solved in urban areas in the Ninth 5-Year Plan. The construction by village residents of an important number of houses within the framework of the program for developing and systematizing localities is also envisaged.

Romania will develop international economic and technical-scientific relations and it will participate in the international division of labor more and more actively. During the current 5-year plan we will go over to more intensive cooperation in building industrial-agrarian projects based on the principle of mutual advantage.

Planning Romania's future in this way, our party emphasizes that the image of the comprehensively developed socialist society is very different—through its content—from today's developed capitalist society. The capitalist system has not solved and cannot solve the basic problems of man and of peoples. The level reached by present-day capitalism—assessed solely on the basis of the per capita average income—hides great discrepancies between the living conditions of the poor, who are constantly increasing in numbers and becoming poorer and poorer, and those of a limited group of rich, who become richer all the time. In actual fact, the major part of the national revenue of the developed capitalist countries belongs to a small number of members of that society, while the great majority does not even have what is strictly necessary. The developed capitalist countries have developed their forces of production both by exploiting their own working masses and by oppressing and robbing other peoples, and through their colonialist and neocolonialist policy.

Proposing completely different goals and focusing on man and his material and cultural requirements, socialism will show the world a new and higher vision of civilization, relations among people, and of the destiny of man in society.

Our party starts from the principle that the standard of living and level of civilization of a given people cannot be assessed solely on the basis of material quantitative indicators—which are important, of course—but on the basis of the overall conditions for life, work, education, and culture guaranteed for the broad masses. The level of goods consumption is an important aspect, but only one aspect of a genuinely free and dignified life.

The concept of a comprehensively developed socialist society encompasses, apart from progress and the modernization of the material production, areas of the greatest importance for the livelihood of the working people such as: Improvement of the relations of production and social relations; achievement of a high quality in work; meeting the basic general requirements of the masses; guaranteeing the citizens' rights and freedoms; ensuring the democratic participation of citizens in running the country; and creating a new and progressive man, and a new way of thinking and conduct of the members of society.

The introduction of modern technology and of the achievements of science—which in capitalism throws millions of workers into the street, thus increasing the number of jobless—lifts work to a qualitatively higher level in socialism. In the spirit of the principles of scientific socialism, our party proclaims social work as a basic right of man and as a decisive factor for affirming and developing the human personality.

As for the assessment on the prospects of developing consumption, it is necessary to bear in mind the limits of natural resources. The higher stage of socialism will meet the scientifically-established requirements and a rational level of consumption for all members of society. Socialism proposes to ensure all necessary conditions that inspire man with feelings of complete dignity and freedom.

The comprehensively developed socialist society will be built on the unshakeable basis of the principles of equality and equity among people and in the spirit of socialist ethics. Citizens' requirements will not be met only on the basis of individual incomes, but also by increasing the role of social expenditure, thus ensuring that an increasing number of problems of civilization and culture will be solved by society. Perfecting free education for all sons in our homeland, solving the housing problem and health protection, stimulating demographic increase, supporting families with several children, eliminating differences between physical and intellectual work, raising the level of civilization of all localities in our homeland, intensifying cultural-artistic activity, broadening the horizon of knowledge and understanding of the masses, and raising the awareness of the whole nation are all part of this goal.

X. Perfecting the Management, Planning, and Organizational System of All Socioeconomic Activities in Our Homeland

In the past 15 years our party has constantly worked to perfect the entire management and planning activity in accordance with the requirements of each historic stage. We have started from the principle that the forms of management and planning are not given once and for all, but must constantly be perfected in accordance with the development of the forces of production.

Our entire socioeconomic activity is organized on the basis of the principles of workers self-management and self-administration. The working people's councils were created and general meetings were institutionalized 20 years ago. County and national councils were also set up and congresses of the working people in industry, agriculture, science and instruction, education and culture were organized periodically, which adopt decisions on basic problems of the socioeconomic activity.

Life has demonstrated the correctness of this original system of democratic self-management. At the same time, practice has proved that the country's development can take place solely on the basis of a concerted management of the national economy. Plans are formulated by units and then adopted by working people's councils and by the general assemblies on the basis of targets stipulated in the single national development plan. The concerted management of the socioeconomic activity on the basis of the single national plan ensures the blending of the interests of each working collective with the general interests of society. Failure to manage socioeconomic development on the basis of the single national plan will lead to a disorganized activity and the emergence of contradictions with serious repercussions for the socialist society. Objective laws cannot act on their own, they have to be applied conscientiously in accordance with the socioeconomic conditions in each country. The more socioeconomic activity expands and diversifies the more it is necessary to ensure a concerted management of society.

In the management and planning activity, the role of central bodies, particularly of ministries, has to be blended smoothly with the responsibility and tasks of central departments and enterprises. Our party has criticized the fact that self-management and self-financing was taken as a possibility to spend and consume without accounting for this to the state and people. Democratic self-management and self-administration have to strengthen order and discipline in the production process, in economic-financial activity, and in management, with maximum efficiency, of the funds entrusted to each working collective.

It is necessary to raise self-financing to an increasingly higher level, reduce money circulation to what is strictly needed, and to eliminate additional credits in order to make up for losses in some enterprises.

The proper socioeconomic activity requires strengthening to a greater extent the responsibility of management bodies—the Council of Ministers, the managerial councils of ministries, and the other central bodies, and working people's councils in central and enterprises. It is also necessary to strengthen the supervision of the plan fulfillment and the implementation of programs and, within this framework, to ensure the working people's control in all sectors.

XI. Unflinchingly Implementing the Program for Socioeconomic Development, for Territorial Organization, and for the Modernization of All Localities in Our Homeland

The 1991-95 5-Year Plan will mark an important stage in the socioeconomic development of counties whose programs are part and parcel of the single national plan.

The policy of the balanced distribution of the forces of production throughout the country will be continued. A volume of at least 100,000 lei worth economic activity will be achieved per capita.

An important goal is the unflinching implementation of the program for the development and modernization of all localities in our homeland and for territorial organization. Adopted in 1968 upon Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's initiative, the law on the territorial-administrative organization of the Socialist Republic of Romania was one of the most important renewing actions in our society. At this point, more than 53 percent of the population resides in municipalities and towns, while some 47 percent live in communes.

In the 1991-95 5-Year Plan, we will ensure the development and complete utilization of the production units in municipalities and towns, including units of small-scale industry and of the other branches. An optimal density of construction must be ensured, municipal work and transportation have to be organized most rationally, and the operation of the educational, medical, and cultural network has to be ensured under favorable conditions.

Agriculture and some industrial activities, especially small-scale industry, will be developed in communes to a greater extent. Education, medical assistance, and trade will be improved, and sports and cultural activities will be developed, so as to ensure living conditions which are as close as possible to those in towns, one of the basic requirements of socialist progress.

XII. Enhancing the Role of the State, of the Bodies of Workers Revolutionary Democracy, and the Consistent Implementation of the Principle of Building Socialism With the People and for the People

In the democratic management of society, particularly in the wake of the Ninth Congress, our state travelled a long road of constantly perfecting its functions. In defining the content and nature of state power, many years ago our party gave up the notion of dictatorship of the proletariat in the belief that this term does not describe the real, class content of the socialist state, and it does not express its democratic essence. The old concept was replaced by that of workers revolutionary democracy, which reflects the class content of the power in our society in a correct way. In accordance with this concept, a unique political system was created that ensures the democratic participation of the masses in exercizing the state power, in managing the society, and in implementing the basic principles of building socialism with the people and for the people.

Our party believes that the socialist state preserves and will continue to preserve its role in society for a long time to come. The ideas and opinions on diminishing the state's role in socialist construction are completely wrong and subject the society to the destructive influence of phantasm, they cause serious disturbances in socioeconomic development, and lead to baneful consequences in socialist construction.

Along with the increased complexity of socioeconomic activity, the socialist state adopts higher organizational forms, thus gaining new functions, qualities, and tasks. The planning, management, and organizational activity in the various sectors and departments of society will be improved. Within the framework of the deepened cooperation between the state bodies and the revolutionary workers democracy bodies, the state will turn into a completely new democratic body.

In any stage of human existence and at any level of social organization, society will have at its disposal bodies for the concerted management of public activity. It is very difficult to presume that in communism, when both the forces of production and the forms of the masses' democratic activity will develop to the maximum extent, social relations could unfold in an anarchical way.

Two diametrically opposed trends are facing each other in the present-day world in both theory and practice: the one of the socialist state, in which the power is in the hands of the people, and that of the capitalist state, in which monopolies and an exploiting minority are dominating the people. One cannot conceive of the the socialist state as borrowing forms which are typical of the capitalist system, outdated from a historic viewpoint, and doomed to failure; on the contrary, the socialist state should constantly improve in the spirit of the new laws of social development.

Our party believes that the concept of reverting to the multiparty system in socialism is wrong and utterly harmful, because it opens the road for returning to anachronistic forms of the capitalist political system. Life has demonstrated that under the new conditions, which were created after the disappearance of exploiting classes, the existence of a single party of the workers class and strengthening the unity of the people around the party are an objective historic requirement. The broad system of socialist democracy fully ensures the possibility and proper framework for the working people to freely express their opinion, and it ensures the effective participation of all social strata in the formulation of the country's domestic and foreign policy, and in the management of society.

In applying our party's basic principle of building socialism with the people and for the people, the dialogue with the working people and the masses' participation in managing socioeconomic activity will constantly gain in scope, and the activity of all democratic bodies and organizations within the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, which dialectically reflects the unity in diversity of our whole socialist society, will intensify.

Our party will work to constantly perfect central state bodies and within them will ensure a correct representation of all categories of working people, primarily of the workers class—the leading class in our society.

An increasingly important role will be played by the local state power bodies, which have to constantly strengthen their links with the masses and ensure the latter's active participation in the entire socioeconomic activity. The people's councils have to increase their responsibility in the socioeconomic improvement of towns and communes in the spirit of self-management and self-administration, and have to work to develop industry, small-scale industry, agriculture, public services, education, and culture, so that all localities may turn into powerful and dignified centers of the socialist and communist society.

The legal system of our revolutionary workers democracy will be improved and all departments in our society will operate solely in accordance with laws and in the spirit of order, discipline, and democracy.

Proceeding from the requirements of defending our homeland's integrity and independence, the party will pay appropriate attention to strengthening our homeland's defense capacity. The Army will continue to play a most important role in defending our people's revolutionary achievements and the national independence and sovereignty of our socialist society. In the spirit of our party's concept, according to which the homeland's defense is the cause of the whole nation, we will strengthen cooperation and collaboration among the Armed Forces and patriotic guards, paramilitary youth detachments, and the other defense units.

At the same time, the level of arms and military expenditure have to be limited to what is strictly necessary. As far as the adherence to the Warsaw Pact is concerned, Romania will work to develop and perfect cooperation with the armies of those countries, and will also advocate the simultaneous dismantling of the two military blocs. But, in any case, cooperation with the armies of the socialist countries will be an important element in defending our national independence.

Similarly, the security and militia bodies will ensure, in close cooperation with the masses, the protection of our people's interests, of our revolutionary achievements, of state security and legal order, of the national wealth, and socialist legality. Action will be taken to perfect the activity of judicial bodies and of the prosecutor's office, which are called upon to watch over the strict observance of our country's laws. In this sense, a greater role will be played by the general meetings of working people, and trial councils and commissions, which should try—apart from serious cases—all violations of the norms of work and of social coexistence. In working together with the state bodies, they can and should become a vigorous force of the democratic justice of our whole people. The people themselves should administer punishment to all those who endanger socialism and our country's independence and sovereignty.

XIII. Mass and Civic Organizations—an Element of Particular Importance in the System of our Revolutionary Workers Democracy

In socialist construction, mass and civic organizations play an important role as part and parcel of our revolutionary workers democracy, which ensures the participation of all categories of working people in the sociopolitical activity.

Trade unions, the representatives of the working people—as the collective owners of the means of production, as producers, and end-users—are duty-bound to manage social wealth with great exactingness and competence, and ensure the progress of activities in all enterprises and institutions under most favorable conditions. It is the special task of trade unions to perfect the professional training of the workers class and working people, to solve their problems in life in the spirit of the party's policy, and to ensure their socialist, revolutionary education.

The Union of Communist Youth, students, pioneers organizations, and the homeland's falcons have to work with greater determination toward thoroughly training young people for work and life, and toward arming them with the most modern achievements of science and technology, of human knowledge, and with our party's revolutionary concept on the world and life. Training youth in a revolutionary and militant spirit, developing its patriotic awareness, its boundless devotion for the cause of socialism and communism, and its determination to do everything to ensure the prosperity of the homeland is a task of honor for all youth and children's organizations.

Women's organizations have to make a greater contribution to the firm affirmation of women throughout society's activities, to increasing women's role in implementing the party policy, in educating the young generation, in the proper management of socialist ownership, and in improving the standard of living of our nation. Greater attention has to be paid to promoting a greater number of women in management jobs.

Great tasks are also devolving on cooperative organizations and on all mass and civic organizations that have to be increasingly active in ensuring the democratic participation of the working people in implementing the party's policy and in socialist construction.

XIV. The Development of the Socialist Nation, Achieving Full Equality of Rights of All Citizens in Romania

Our socialist society ensures the full assertion of the new and higher characteristics of our nation. The party will continue to work toward strengthening the socialist nation and toward accentuating its characteristics which are determined by the nature of the social system based on socialist ownership and on the unity of economic and political interests of all working people. The socialist nation will vigorously assert itself as a unifying and dynamizing element of the people in socialist construction, of raising the people's patriotic revolutionary awareness, and of protecting socialist Romania's freedom, national independence, and sovereignty.

Romania is a united national state. The circumstances of its historic development made populations of other nationalities settle on the territory where the Romanian people were living. Continuing the policy—always promoted by our party—that opposes any kind of national discrimination, socialism has solved, in a principled and definitive way, the problem of equality of rights of the working people, without any discrimination.

All working people—whether Romanian or of other origin—are citizens of the Socialist Republic of Romania, enjoy equal rights and freedoms as stipulated in our country's Constitution, and exercize the role and tasks devolving on them as owners of the means of production and of the whole social wealth. Romanian citizens of different origin are able to use their own language; have their own schools, culture and art institutions, various publishing houses; and, at the same time, are represented—in accordance with their numerical proportion in society—in all management bodies, both local and central, and in the revolutionary workers democracy bodies. The working people, irrespective of nationality, are working shoulder to shoulder and strive, at all levels, in complete unity to ensure socioeconomic progress in general, and to build socialism and communism on Romanian soil.

Strengthening the unity of all people is an essential condition for our progress, and therefore it is necessary to firmly combat nationalism and chauvinism and any attempts to propagate the outdated concepts and mentalities promoted by the exploiting classes in order to sow discord among the working people.

Our party firmly rejects the concept according to which a given state may assume—on grounds of nationality—responsibility for the destiny of citizens, who are living in another country. Such an utterly mistaken concept actually serves revisionist aims and purposes, and is an attempt of an unacceptable interference in the domestic affairs of another country and of hampering its socioeconomic development. The responsibility for solving the problems of citizens of other nationalities fully rests on the state in which those citizens are living and working, and no one from outside can pose as judge or mentor by invoking a so-called concern about their problems. Both the present and the future of citizens of other nationalities are indissolubly linked to the present and future of the whole people.

XV. Profound Changes in the Country's Social Structure; Homogenization of Our Socialist Society

The development of the forces of production and the improvement of production and social relations have brought and continue to bring about profound revolutionary changes in our country's social structure.

The workers class, the most numerous and progressive class in society, is honorably playing its leading role in society and represents the main guarantee for building socialism and communism. Our party will make sure that the entire workers class will constantly broaden its horizon of knowledge and its level of professional, technical, and cultural training, so that it may rise to the level of an intellectual workers class, and that it may continue to affirm itself with greater vigor as a revolutionary and progressive class from all viewpoints.

The peasantry—the main ally of the workers class—has become a new and more homogeneous social class, which, although it has decreased in number and will continue to do so, will play a particularly important role in the country's sociopolitical activity, in the process of material production, and in the state's and society's management in general. In the future, the peasantry will improve its professional and scientific-cultural training since it benefits, as do all our people, from the introduction of the 12-grade educational system

As a result of the vigorous development of science, education, and culture, our intellectuals have gained particular importance in our society. With no exploitive classes, actually all intellectuals come from the workers and peasants, and from the working people. The intelligentsia represents a powerful social force and will play an increasingly important role in the production of material goods and cultural assets, and in the entire political and social activity.

In the process of going over to the higher stage of the comprehensively developed socialist society, all classes and social categories will come closer, thus leading to the homogenization of our society and to a united working people. This makes it necessary for the party and state to ensure a constant balance between the forces of production and production and social relations, and an improved organization and management of the whole society on a scientific foundation.

XVI. Enhancing the Leading Role of the Party—the Vital Core of the Whole Nation—More and More Vigorously

The whole experience of the struggle to overthrow the old system, conquer power, and build the new system in Romania has demonstrated and demonstrates that the existence and affirmation of the leading role of the political party of the workers class, which is armed with a clear concept based on the theory of scientific socialism, which has a scientific program, and which expresses the interests, aspirations, and the will of the people, is an imperative requirement for the revolutionary process, and it is an objective law of the construction of socialism and communism.

The assertion of the RCP's leading role in Romanian society, the recognition of this role by the whole people, and its sanction by the country's Constitution are a result of an objective historic process. In all circumstances, our party has proven its revolutionary qualities, its organizational and transformational potential, and the correctness of its policy.

Headed by its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, our party has fully demonstrated its ability to lead the Romanian people—in the particularly complicated conditions of the current international situation—on the path to progress, socialism, freedom, and national independence.

In the period since the 13th RCP Congress, the party and its leadership bodies have carried out an intensive organizational and political activity. A number of measures have been adopted to perfect the organization of the party, broaden the party's internal democracy, and strengthen its discipline; the system of promoting cadres and of electing the local and central party bodies has improved. The role and responsibility of the party organizations and of all Communists in formulating the RCP's domestic and foreign policy have increased. Today, the RCP incorporates more 3,800,000 members, of which more than 55 percent are workers; this proves the working-class nature of the party.

The implementation of the future's great goals requires a further increase in the party's leading role. As the vital core of the nation, the party is not working above society, but from inside it, and it fulfills its leading role through its organizations and through the Communists. The successful fulfillment of its historic mission requires the party to assume direct responsibility for implementing all plans and programs for socioeconomic development.

Life has demonstrated the profoundly erroneous and harmful nature of the concept according to which—in the current conditions of socialist construction—there is no need for the Communist Party to exercize its leading role in society. The theories on the so-called diminishing of the party's leading role will deprive society of the most conscious and most progressive political leading force that is armed with a scientific concept on the world and life, and that is able to unite and organize the entire potential of the given nation. Should the Communist Party no longer assume responsibility for implementing its revolutionary program, a political vacuum would appear in society which, undoubtedly, would be taken over by other forces.

The Communist Party cannot share, and by no means renounce, its role as leading political force in society, without risk of seriously endangering the cause of socialism itself and the people's vital interests. The concept according to which the party has to surrender part of its tasks and responsibilities, or let other political forces take its place, has nothing in common with the revolutionary theory of the workers class and with the principles of scientific socialism, and actually is a concept of capitulation and liquidation, which is most determinedly rejected by our party.

Intensifying their attacks against communist parties, reactionary circles in the capitalist countries work under the current circumstances—as they actually did in the past—on the basis of the slogan of creating several parties to eliminate the communist parties. Life has demonstrated that there is no other force that can play the vital role of the Communist Party.

Similarly, our party believes that the concept according to which the party has to renounce its revolutionary nature and turn into a party of reforms is extremely harmful. To depart from the revolutionary path in the era of the greatest and most profound social transformations and revolutions in human knowledge means to ignore the very objective laws of the development of society. Under all circumstances, the party of the workers class has to preserve its revolutionary spirit and behave as a party of revolutionary renewal, of promoting what is new and everything that is progressive and advanced in social thinking and practice.

The concept of the disappearance—throughout history—of a communist party, held by the classics of scientific socialism, bears in mind the lawful process of becoming a society without classes and the process of raising the ideological and political awareness of the whole nation to the level of the party itself. The continuation of the revolutionary process makes the existence of a single party of the workers class, the strengthening of its leading political role, and the broad development of the organic link with the people and the other bodies of the revolutionary workers democracy become an objective requirement for socialist construction. It goes without saying that the activity of the Communist Party will also develop and change in the future, but, one can say, without fear of being mistaken, that the requirement of promoting a revolutionary concept on the world and life in society will never disappear.

The increased responsibility of the party bodies and organizations is not at variance with developing socialist democracy; the party bodies should not replace state bodies or democratic bodies. On the contrary, party cadres and the Communists have to work to raise the activity of state and revolutionary workers democracy bodies to a higher level, and to assume responsibility for their activity before both the party and the democratic bodies to which they belong. This way we will ensure a dialectical blend between the party's leading role and the enhanced responsibility and role of the state and democratic bodies.

Going over to a higher stage of the comprehensively developed socialist society requires a constant improvement and making dynamic the activity of party bodies and organizations, the firm application of the principles and provisions of the party statute and of the party democracy and discipline, a constant improvement in the party's organizational and control activity, and the revolutionary responsibility of the Communists for the whole socioeconomic and political activity.

We must constantly preserve the working-class nature of the party, both regarding the proportion of workers in the party and the promotion of activists, coming from the ranks of the workers, in the leadership of party bodies and organizations.

It is necessary to firmly apply the party's cadres policy and the principles of promoting cadres on the basis of contests and rotation, and we have to improve the standard of knowledge of the aktiv and of cadres from top to bottom, in both the area of technical and professional training in matters of management and in becoming acquainted with the laws and processes of socioeconomic development.

A great role in speeding up our progress is played by promoting—throughout the party's activity in society—revolutionary criticism and self-criticism, a relentless attitude toward negative phenomena, toward calling the offender to account, and the adoption of measures to eliminate shortfalls and constantly improve socioeconomic activity.

The increasingly complex tasks of socialist construction make it necessary to further strengthen the party's political and organizational framework, its political, ideological, and organizational unity, and its leading political role in all areas.

XVII. Intensification of the Ideological, Political-Educational Activity of Shaping the New Man, of Developing the Level of Culture and Knowledge, and of Improving the Level of the Socialist and Revolutionary Awareness of All People—Target of Particular Importance for Building the Comprehensively Developed Socialist Society

Our party has carried out extensive and laborious activity to develop and creatively apply the generally-valid truths and the principles of scientific socialism to the specific conditions of the revolutionary process in our country by developing the ideological inheritance of the workers class, and by making a valuable contribution to enriching the world theory and practice of the class struggle and of socialist construction.

In constantly developing ideological thinking and activity, of essential importance is the monumental theoretical work of our party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, and his tremendous contribution to the development of scientific socialism, and dialectical and historic materials in accordance with the changes in our society and throughout the world, this representing creative Marxism under Romania's specific conditions today.

In the period since the 13th RCP Congress, our party attained important achievements in raising the general level of knowledge of party and state cadres, of Communists, and of all working people.

The "Song to Romania" national festival has turned into a broad and vigorous movement of scientific-technical and cultural-artistic mass creativity, thus clearly demonstrating the people's role of creator of the whole national culture. Positive results have been attained by literary-artistic creativity, in the development of the cultural values of socialism, and in all areas of political-educational work.

Great economic, social, and political changes have taken place in our era. Science and technology have developed tremendously, and the horizon of human knowledge has broadened. Under these circumstances it is necessary to examine problems scientifically and to creatively enrich the revolutionary concept on the world and life with the new conclusions drawn from social practice and with the new achievements of science and human thought.

Our party believes that, although we have achieved a number of positive results in the political-ideological activity, generally speaking, there are certain shortfalls in the development of the forces of production compared with the development of society in general.

More than ever before, propaganda has to vigorously emphasize that the victory of socialism is an objective requirement and that, sooner or later—as has been the case with all preceding social systems—the capitalist, imperialist system has to make room for the new system—the socialist and communist system.

Within the framework of broad democratic discussions that will take place before the 14th RCP Congress, in the entire political-educational activity it is necessary to emphatically stress the need to constantly strengthen and develop socialist ownership, and to defend it as one of the vital requirements of our homeland's future development, ensuring the constant progress of the forces of production, science, culture, and our people's material and cultural standard of living in order to raise our homeland to new heights of progress and civilization, and of strengthening Romania's independence and sovereignty.

It is the duty of ideological activity to fight against the underrating or negation of the importance of revolutionary theory in socialist construction and against minimizing the role of socialist awareness in the revolutionary process. The so-called de-ideologization [dezideologizare] of relations between socialism and capitalism at the world level, in the final analysis, means the capitulation of socialism to capitalism and renunciation of the class struggle to eliminate exploitation and oppression, and the struggle to build a society of justice and social equality. As life demonstrates, the exploiting classes do not renounce their ideology and do not even say that they may change their concepts. In actual fact, it is an axiomatic truth that there can be no world without ideas; the entire history of humanity has demonstrated this. Certainly, the important thing is which ideas confront each other, which ideas triumph and influence social development. Obviously, were the communist parties to renounce their ideas and their revolutionary ideology, they would only pave the way for the ideology of the exploiters, thus playing into the hands of the reactionary forces which are interested in perpetuating the old system, inequity, and social oppression.

Ideological activity has to emphasize the irreducible contradictions and the serious shortfalls that mar the capitalist system, and the fact that, although it still has important resources and strength, the capitalist system proves to be unable to solve the essential economic, social, and moral problems of people and nations.

Emphasizing that the only way to solve the complex problems of the present-day world is to go over to socialism, the ideological activity has to emphasize the fact that socialism is being built in each country in accordance with the specific conditions of that country and by taking into account generally-valid principles and laws, and by not tolerating an outside imposition on the revolution, nor that it is stopped by counterrevolution.

Certainly, as our party has repeatedly emphasized, contradictions in socioeconomic development exist and will continue to exist. Therefore, constant attention is required to detect, correctly understand, and solve them in time, so as to prevent them from turning into antagonism, and to avoid the emergence of clashes and social upheavals.

Similarly, it has to be understood that one cannot conceive of socialist development if class struggle is given up or diminished in one way or another. Class struggle has always been the foundation for mankind's progress and for social development. The struggle between oppressors and oppressed, between what is old and what is new has always been the foundation for the development of human society. As long as the capitalist system is preserved, as long as imperialism and its reactionary policy exist, conditions for class struggle in socialism will continue to exist. Interference in the domestic affairs of other states and outside intervention to put a halt to the revolutionary process will be a constant and real threat. If we imagine that the old, capitalist system will submit to the loss of its positions, and stay indifferent toward the historic process of its replacement by the new socialist system, then we will fall prey to an inexcusable illusion. As a matter of fact, a number of political representatives of the capitalist countries do not conceal and do not shun from frankly admitting that they aim at destabilizing the socialist countries.

Under these conditions, it is very important to firmly apply the principles of scientific socialism, strengthen the ideological and political struggle, and increase the activity against any attempts—both from the outside and the inside—that would jeopardize the interests of socialism and its revolutionary achievements. We must be aware of the fact that no longer can there be people, prisoners of old concepts, who are interested in an easy life, without work, capable of falling under the influence of reactionary circles. Therefore, currently the struggle against any kind of antisocialist actions or any type of counterrevolutionary plots remains the constant task of our party and state and of our whole people.

Expanding and improving socialist democracy does not mean giving up the struggle against reactionary concepts and should not lead to concessions and kowtowing to the imperialist forces. Anyone who displays such an attitude, regardless of his motives or justifications, ultimately is an enemy of the socialist construction, of the independence and sovereignty of our country, and of the vital interests of our people. Ensuring a broad socialist democracy not only does not exclude, but on the contrary, requires a determined attitude against any kind of actions that jeopardize socialist construction. The revolutionary fight against reactionary thinking and mystifying and denigrating propaganda promoted by capitalism should increase, and the vigilance against attempts of imperialist forces to divert socialism from the path of revolutionary development should be strengthened.

We should adopt a firm position against everything that is alien to our concept of the world, life, and socialist ethics and equity. We should fight the lack of responsibility in managing socialist wealth and fight the lack of discipline, neglect, and negligence in work, which seriously damages the general interests of our society. A firm attitude should be adopted against any retrograde concept such as mysticism, obscurantism, nationalism, and chauvinism, and the other manifestations which humiliate and degrade the individual.

We should increase the activity of educating the whole people in the spirit of their wonderful patriotic and revolutionary traditions and increase among the broad masses the spirit of international solidarity, fraternity, and unity with all working people in the joint struggle for socioeconomic progress and peace throughout the world.

The party lays a particular emphasis on increasing the role of science and culture in society. Expanding the horizon of scientific-cultural knowledge, which is an important condition for the freedom and dignity of the individual, should be constantly in the center of our party's activity.

The awareness of the representative values of our national culture, which reflect the Romanian people's ideal for progress and freedom, and the continuous defence and development of our cultural heritage are very important. Likewise, we should study everything that is valuable and progressive in the universal culture and, at the same time, we should eliminate all manifestations of cosmopolitism and kowtowing to reactionary and decadent products of capitalism.

Within this huge political, educational, and cultural activity, we should take more intensive actions to give an increasingly broader content to the "Song to Romania" national festival and we should vigorously develop and make thorough use of all the available means, such as clubs, cultural organizations, houses of culture, and theaters, and turn them into powerful centers for shaping a high socialist, revolutionary, and patriotic awareness of the masses.

We should continuously improve and develop the activity of creative units, and increase the social responsibility of all artists such as writers, musicians, painters, and men of theater. The true source of inspiration for all the creators should be the Romanian people and the achievements of our socialist society. We need new novels, poems, films, and plays, musical pieces or works of art, which, through their advanced ideas and artistic value, should make a contribution to promoting and asserting the noble principles of socialist humanism and to fighting everything that is at variance with the progressive thought of our era, and should generally increase the level of culture and civilization of our people.

Likewise, the press, radio, and television should improve and perfect their activity; and acquire a more active and important role in better understanding and studying the current problems of the development of our society, and in broadly discussing these problems; and should increase their fight against manifestations that are at variance with the principles of our society, with the revolutionary concept of world and life; and should increase their contribution to uniting the efforts of our whole nation in the unflinching implementation of the programs for our socioeconomic development and for the construction of socialism and communism in Romania.

The entire propaganda and political-educational work should make an increased contribution to mobilizing working people in the great work of implementing the domestic and foreign policy of our party and state and should become a strong material power in changing our society and ensuring the victory of socialism and communism in our homeland.

Our party organizations and bodies and all the ideological, cultural, and educational institutions should focus on the activity of constantly molding the physiognomy of the new-type of man, the progressive individual inspired by a profound patriotic spirit and who, with his body and soul, is completely devoted to the noble cause of socialism and communism and to establishing the most just and humane society—which has always been the dream of progressive and revolutionary spirits everywhere—and who is devoted to the ideals of progress, socialism, and peace throughout the world.

XVIII. The Basic Characteristics of the International Situation. Romania's Foreign Policy of Peace, Cooperation, and Active Participation in Finding Constructive Solutions to the Great Problems of Our Times

The entire evolution of the international political situation completely confirms the correctness and realistic nature of the Romanian foreign policy and of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's conclusions and recommendations regarding the new tendencies that occur in the international arena and the ways and means to solve the complex problems of our times.

In international life, we witness the manifestations of the the two major tendencies, which are represented, on one hand, by the forces of progress and peace and, on the other hand, by the imperialist and reactionary forces. The financial-banking capital, the great monopolies, and transnational societies have become the main form of the imperialist and neocolonialist policy of domination and oppression and of the policy of violation of the independence and sovereignty of nations.

It has been proved in reality that a relative equilibrium in the balance of forces has been achieved, which has enabled the world to overcome some very difficult moments and to ensure peace in the world for almost 45 years.

The international crisis is expanding and the economic and political instability is increasing.

The international situation has greatly worsened as a result of the fact that in spite of the good-will declarations the arms race continues.

The steps taken in past years—particularly as a result of the agreement reached between the Soviet Union and the United States of America on the elimination of intermediate and short-range missiles—have not led to radical changes in the course of the international situation.

The struggle for disarmament and peace continues to be the fundamental issue for the present and the future of mankind. As long as nuclear weapons are not eliminated, the danger of a nuclear war that could lead to the destruction of the whole of mankind will persist. Romania believes that the complete elimination of nuclear weapons, the elimination of chemical weapons, and the radical reduction of conventional weapons is the surest way to ensure the survival of mankind and the condition for preserving life on our planet! It is necessary to completely eliminate the concept of ensuring peace through "nuclear deterrence", which, as a matter of fact, means a policy of force and domination.

In the field of disarmament, a great responsibility lies with the European countries and the Warsaw Pact and NATO-member countries. At the same time, taking into consideration the fact that the military blocks have become anachronistic and do not offer any guarantee or security, everything necessary has to be done to ensure their simultaneous dismantlement.

Romania actively militates for a united Europe of cooperation and peace, based on strict respect for the diversity of social systems and the freedom and independence of each nation. Our country is not and will never be in favor of a Europe in which the independence of peoples and nations is crushed, regardless of the way in which this is done!

Romania will continue to work most consistently to develop cooperation in the Balkans and to turn this region into a zone of peace and good neighborliness, free of nuclear and chemical weapons, and free of foreign military bases. Likewise, our country supports the achievement of such zones in the central and northern part of Europe, as well as on other continents.

Romania will continue to militate for the elimination of force and the threat of force from interstate relations and for negotiated solutions, through political and peaceful means, to all problems.

Our country speaks out for and actively supports the struggle of people to eliminate all forms of colonialism and neocolonialism and to ensure the free and independent assertion of each nation.

Taking into consideration the extreme rightist political manifestations taking place in some capitalist countries, a sharp rebuff should be given to all reactionary currents, to neofascism, and to the nationalist-chauvinist propaganda and the propaganda of revising borders.

Romania actively militates for a new international economic order and for the elimination of the great gaps that exist between rich and poor countries. It is necessary to solve the issue of foreign debt, which is a heavy burden on developing countries. A new financial policy is required, a policy that eliminates the plundering and domination of poor countries by imperialist monopolies and international banks.

It is necessary to ensure an active and fully equal participation in the international life of all states, particularly of small and medium size countries, that make up the majority of the world.

Our party and state will continue to pay particular attention to collaboration with socialist countries and to strengthening their unity and cooperation, as it has been doing so far. In the current circumstances, socialist countries are called upon to assume a greater responsibility in the international life. The socialist countries are the ones that should demonstrate by example that only socialism can guarantee the elimination of exploitation and oppression and can find new paths for solutions to the problems of mankind's development.

The process of eliminating shortfalls and mistakes and of perfecting the work of socialist construction should be carried out from consistently revolutionary positions, on the basis of the principles of scientific socialism, proceeding from the fact that the forms of social organization are not everlasting, that something that at one point seems good, after a while can become an obstacle in the development of society. Those who lived in the past cannot be held responsible for the fact that those who live today do not follow this law and do not act in accordance with the new realities, in the spirit of the revolutionary principles of the scientific socialism. Perfecting socialism does not mean a return to the old, obsolete forms, to capitalism; it means to progress toward new and superior forms of ownership, work, social coexistence, ethics, and equity.

Only on this basis can we completely make use of the great potential of socialism and of its resources of progress and well-being.

Socialist countries should examine together the current problems of socialist construction, and should establish ways for better cooperation in order to eliminate difficulties and ensure the development of each nation on the road of socialism.

Romania will continue to firmly militate for the development of cooperation with all socialist countries on the basis of equality and mutual respect, of noninterference, comradely assistance, and on the principles of the scientific socialism.

Our country will continue to pay particular attention, in the future too, to developing and perfecting cooperation within CEMA—on the basis of the statutes of this organization—and to increasing its role in finding solutions to the complex problems of socialist development of each country. In the current circumstances it is impossible to raise the issue of dissolving this organization or creating a "uniform socialist market" in line with the western models. CEMA can and must make a more active contribution to the independent socioeconomic progress of the member countries, ensure their relatively equal development, and increase the overall economic power of socialism.

Romania will expand its relations with developed and nonaligned countries as well as with developed capitalist countries, in the spirit and on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, equality, and respect for independence and national sovereignty.

In the future our country will continue to make a contribution to finding solutions to international problems and establishing a better and more just world on our planet.

XIX. The International Communist and Workers Movement. Developing the RCP's Relations With All Communist and Workers Parties, and With Revolutionary, Democratic, and Progressive Forces in the World

In the spirit of the rich internationalist traditions of the workers revolutionary movement in our country, the RCP has consistently worked to develop relations with communist and workers parties, with socialist and social-democratic parties, and with revolutionary and progressive forces everywhere. Our party has most resolutely spoke out for the elimination of the old practices in the relations between communist and workers parties and for the development of cooperation and solidarity on the basis of the new principles of complete equality, respect for independence and autonomy of each party.

The RCP will continue to work to strengthen cooperation among communist and workers parties. The serious and complex international situation, the changes that occur in the relations of forces in the international arena require, as an objective need, the more marked strengthening of international cooperation and solidarity. No communist party can remain isolated! It is more necessary than ever to strengthen cooperation and solidarity among communist parties on the basis of the principles of scientific socialism, of the revolutionary concept of the world and life, and of the dialectical and historical materialism.

Most decisive actions are required to overcome the phenomenon of stagnation and regression which can be noticed in the activity of some communist and workers parties in capitalist countries, and to revitalize them in the struggle for the democratic transformation of the society and for promoting disarmament and peace. Currently, all kinds of erroneous concepts are emerging; equally dangerous rightist and leftist deviations, including manifestations of distrust in the revolutionary forces and in the possibility of developing society on the path of socialism.

Problems that occur in various countries, including socialist countries, are the internal problems of each party, and our party is against any interference in domestic affairs. However, the RCP advocates broad joint discussions of current problems, in order to establish the best means of action for each party to make its contribution to finding solutions to the complex political, economic, and social problems; to achieving disarmament, defending peace; and to ensuring a world of social and national justice and the victory of the new social order—socialism.

In this spirit, our party emphasizes the need for meetings and conferences of communist and workers parties, meetings that should examine and answer the new problems raised by the development of society and the present and the future of socialism, and should imprint a new spirit of struggle and combat to the activity of finding solutions to the problems of our times.

Our party firmly speaks out for the development and strengthening of cooperation with socialist and social-democratic parties and militates for developing broad cooperation with national liberation movements, with ruling parties in developing countries, and with all the parties that speak out for peace, understanding, and cooperation.

Although the current international problems are extremely serious and complex, the RCP expresses its belief that the forces of socialism, democracy, and progress, taking concerted and increasingly firmer actions, can bring about positive changes to the course of events toward finding constructive solutions to the problems that confront mankind today.

The RCP believes that mankind's progress toward socialism is a law-like objective process of the current development. Only socialism can offer the prospect of a world without exploiters and exploited, without oppressors and oppressed and a world of free and independent development of all the peoples, and can ensure the well-being and happiness of each nation!

Socialism is the future of mankind!

The Central Committee believes that the discussions of the 14th Congress Theses will give a new and strong impetus to the entire political, economic, and social life of our homeland and will contribute to the stronger unity in closing the ranks of our whole people around the party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the brilliant founder of the modern Romania, under whose wise and clearsighted leadership, our country has been firmly progressing on the road of building the most just and humane society—the socialist and communist society.

The Central Committee expresses its belief that this debate will bring about a thorough analysis of the activity of each party organization, of each economic and social unit, and of the workers revolutionary democracy organizations, and will make dynamic the working people's power in fulfilling their production tasks—in industry, agriculture, science, and culture—in eliminating shortfalls and arrears, and in creating a general spirit of struggle to improve activity in all areas.

While discussing the 14th Congress Theses in a highly responsible communist spirit, let us strengthen the unity and force of our party, the forceful assertion of its bold, renewing spirit and its role as the vital core of our whole nation and leader of the Romanian people on the path of progress and prosperity, and of freedom and independence of our homeland!

Let us ensure that, through the concerted work of our whole people, under the leadership of our party, while we unabatedly follow the brilliant recommendations and guidelines of the secretary general of our party and the president of the Republic, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, our nation will travel—in the shortest time possible—the glorious road toward the golden dream—communism!

Bush's Visit to Poland, Hungary Critiqued

AU1707191289 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15-16 Jul 89 p 9

[Vlado Teslic commentary in the "Week in the World" column: "The Messiah Without Dollars"]

[Text] It may be contrary to the well-known saying that it is easier to be a prophet in one's own village than in some other village. Addressing Americans of Polish origin (there are 10 million of them) back in April, President Bush, provoked by changes in Poland and the legalization of Solidarity, promised all sorts of things to Warsaw and added something that had some broader international implications: The cold war had started in Eastern Europe, so if it should end now, then let it also end there.... In the meantime, a Solidarity delegation to Washington was encouraged when it was told that when Bush visits Poland they should ask for $10 billion.

However, when Bush arrived in Warsaw (and Gdansk, Lech Walesa's capital city) this week, he remained silent about the two points. He promised the Poles something else, something they already have and on which one cannot live: support to reforms and political pluralism. He lectured them about something in which they are the "weakest": self-discipline. Just like the Messiah from the New Testament did, he asked them to help themselves and then he will help them, too. This was perhaps the bitterest pill that was administered to the European nation that is the most devoted to Christianity but has not profited much from it.

Have the greatest statesmen of the great powers changed their behavior, or do they no longer have the ability to carry out great acts, reforms, or recoveries, something in the style of the Marshall Plan? Or are the Poles (in this case in the same tradition as the Hungarians) still romantic enthusiasts and losers in a world that has always been realistic and is now even less emotional and less philanthropic than ever before? This is a week in which Europe and the world celebrate not only the 200th anniversary of the French bourgeois revolution, but also 12 years since Rambouillet, where a new order was established: the oligarchy of the seven most developed countries.

The problem of Poland (as well as Hungary)—the "heart of Europe," which is Bush's term of endearment for Poland, and "the heart of central Europe, which is the gradation the U.S. President has made—is that, despite reforms and changes, they still belong to an old setup that is little talked about: They are still subjected to pressure from the bloc and they are still in a buffer zone between the West and the East. The absurd is even more so because in less than 2 months Poland and the entire world must pronounce their judgment on the aggression against Poland 50 years ago, on a war and a peace treaty that has still not been signed, and on borders that some still consider questionable.

If the Mexicans were right in complaining about their geographic position, in which the sky is so high and America so close, then what should countries "in the heart of Europe" say, to which the armed forces of the two greatest superpowers are so close, which are patronized by both sides, and which God has deserted long ago and has deprived of capital and markets?

Close to the Heart...

They say that people from Bush's entourage complained that what they experienced in Warsaw and Budapest was nothing compared with the way Gorbachev was welcomed and greeted in the FRG. One can hardly doubt the loyalty that the Poles and Hungarians feel for America, to which the bravest always turned in the hardest moments in the difficult history of their countries. However, Gorbachev has certain answers to at least some of the problems that worry virtually all Europeans. He is offering disarmament after the 40 years of the terror of nuclear and other types of arms. He has initiated and encouraged the processes of reforms and of living in the common European home. Bush is still in the sphere of bloc relations and antisocialist ideas of the world reform. He is cautious when it comes to disarmament, but resolute in preaching what his country considers to be democracy and what leads to Americans taking the lead. Many people are attracted to that, but this cannot be new messianism in Europe, where the priorities are wealth and security. This is particularly the case for those people whom God (or socialism) has deprived of wealth.

In addition to this, Bush must be given credit for passing at least one major test, the test in diplomatic tactics, at least in relation to the great partner. However, talking about reconciliation and a united and free Europe, which represents yet another addition to the phraseology of vagueness concerning the future of Europe, is one thing, and not casting doubt on the Soviet interests and even influence, which goes a long way back and which will probably remain even after all the reforms have been implemented, is another.

This is why it is not surprising that the representatives of Solidarity will urgently travel to Moscow, without whose consent they are not likely to accept responsibility in the new Polish Government.

Everything else is the well-known political folklore of both the United States and Poland. Of course, in this folklore everything appears—at least from outside—pompous and harmonious; everything is close to the heart and emotions, but essential shifts concerning the key questions are still absent. Hence the public's disappointment that Bush did not come with dollars?

Those who remember history—and one can answer the most difficult questions from the history of world diplomacy through Poland's experiences—are already lamenting over the Poles' bitter experiences with the West in the series of tragedies in its struggle for independence. Since the 18th century, the Poles have always been turning toward the West, which has always fostered Poland's illusions but refused concrete help. Has Lajos Kossuth, the greatest Hungarian revolutionary of the 19th century, not experienced the same?

Everything else that Bush said or promised to the Poles and Hungarians is more a part of the ruling economic conservatism of the United States than readiness to take part in economic reforms. Poland's debt is $39 billion and Hungary's is $18 billion, and Bush is offering the rescheduling of debts, concessions in exports, and $100 million as a down payment for a IMF loan of $300 million. This is all offered under the well-known conditions: full decentralization of the economy and strict saving. All of this is happening at the time when the Poles and the Hungarian Government have already decided to adopt this policy and when the citizens' sacrifices have already reached their limit. After all, why would the West's policy toward Poland and Hungary be different from its policy toward other debtor countries?

POLITIKA Comments on Bush, Gorbachev

AU1607194589 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Jul 89 p 2

[Dusan Pesic commentary: "The Trials of Bush and Gorbachev"]

[Text] The just-ended summit of the Warsaw Pact countries is both similar to and very different from such meetings held in the past. It reflects, in a somewhat confused way, the dilemmas and complex nature of the current international situation, in which the inheritance from the postwar world can hardly fit. Just as in the case with the "Atlanticists" in Brussels recently, at their meeting in Bucharest, the "Warsaw people" were unable to react convincingly and alertly enough to phenomena and processes around them. Therefore, they have tried to maintain the outer facade of apparent unity, postponing the most controversial questions for another time.

NATO was facing serious disagreements about the basic question of the further course of nuclear disarmament in Europe. For the first time since the war, the FRG found itself in positions opposed to those of its closest allies, such as France, Britain, and the United States.

Obviously, Chancellor Kohl was closer to Gorbachev's variation on the "third zero" or the denuclearization of the old continent, than to the Atlantic alliance and the demands that the short-range nuclear missiles should be modernized. Compromise has indeed been found, and the modernized missiles will wait before they are installed, but the essential "worm of doubt," introduced in the West European alliance by the enthusiasm that Gorbachev met everywhere in the FRG, remains. It is not just the question of missiles but of a new phenomenon, and that is that the FRG is more resolutely stepping into the international scene (where it was until recently satisfied with the post-war inherited status of an economic giant and a political dwarf), and that it is asking for a full voice in an atmosphere where one of the basic connective factors in the Atlantic alliance is decreasing: the belief that the USSR constitutes a danger.

Considering that the Germans are firmly convinced that this danger no longer exists and that it has been replaced by attractive Soviet economic offers, the future behavior of the Rhine diplomacy becomes a puzzle on which the courses of further Western policy, the role of Washington, and so forth, will depend.

Although Gorbachev failed to achieve the same success in talks with reserved Mitterrand on the Seine last week, he did launch the idea of "a joint European home" there too, and he even offered some unilateral nuclear disarmament moves, counting more on impressing the public opinion than on being able to win over the experienced host from the Elysee Palace. However, although the French people retain some reserve, they cannot remain equanimous toward "Gorbymania" on the open stage, and so they finally accepted that "special relations with Moscow exist again." All these elements indicate processes of possible further differences within the Atlantic Alliance where the level of unity no longer is determined by the classic formula of the cold war division of the world.

As much as Gorbachev may score points on the West European scene, he does not find it at all easy at home, and especially in the former "socialist family" whose "monolithic nature" has always been demonstrated by the Warsaw Pact.

This time, the places at the round table of the "fraternal community" were taken by statesmen of very different views, especially regarding the development of socialism and thus international politics. Poland and Hungary have taken the road of thorough reforms. Representatives of the opposition already sit in the Warsaw parliament; they are moderate for the moment but they probably have ambitions to exert decisive political influence. In Budapest, even the highest party officials do not conceal the fact that the Party may lose the forthcoming elections.

In contrast, the GDR and Romania (with the support of the Czechoslovak leadership which will probably soon have to face energetic demands by its own people for democratization) represent the old views on centralism in internal relations and the danger from imperialism in international relations.

In addition, the Hungarians and the Romanians are involved in a direct conflict about the position of the Hungarian minority, and fresh barbed wire barriers are being erected on the borders. And so on and so forth. This dispute even lacks the absolute arbitrator as the USSR used to be, for Gorbachev remains consistent to his principle that there can be no mutual interference in internal affairs of socialist countries and that every party is responsible primarily to its own people. It is extremely encouraging that this principle has again been confirmed in the statement issued about the Bucharest summit.

However, as one can see, Moscow is facing certain resistance from the conservative wing of the Warsaw Pact and the worrying fact that so far perestroyka has not produced results at home. The conservatives are increasingly looking toward Beijing and hope that the reforms will not achieve their aim. This kind of problem and waiting mark, and in many ways determine, the current inter-relations within the Warsaw Pact. So far, Gorbachev has succeeded in maintaining his initiative and has remained consistent in his view that there is a need for the military blocs to gradually disband and, instead of a military, assume a political character.

In this kind of atmosphere, President Bush has made a delicate move by visiting Warsaw and Budapest. Naturally, with his conduct he will encourage the present processes of democratization in those countries. However, at the same time he must be extremely cautious and resist the challenge of "interfering more than is necessary and desirable," which is not all that easy. Judging by everything, the White House understood the danger of creating this kind of impression and immediately made it known that the President "does not intend to drive a wedge between the USSR and East Europe, but to encourage economic and political reforms and express friendship toward the Polish people."

One needs a substantial amount of a statesman's wisdom to draw such a delicate line.

Many commentators are warning that a wrong move in this oversensitive and explosive situation could have serious consequences. Bush's diplomatic test is reflected in the task of weighing the support and avoiding the danger of leaving the impression that he wants to push out the Soviet influence on the one hand, and not totally disappointing the Poles and Hungarians, who do not hide the fact that they are primarily interested in the U.S. economic aid, on the other hand. The question is to what extent can the President be generous.

In view of all this, the situation is very delicate and assumes much statesman's wisdom in both the West and the East. According to many, the cold war is over, but the structure of new international relations has not been established yet. Therefore, the possibility and danger of a fateful mistake is still great and present all the time.

TANJUG Reports Support of West's 'Seven'

LD1707143389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1200 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Text] Rome, 17 (TANJUG)—At the summit of the seven leading Western industrial states in Paris, which ended yesterday, as RAI [Italian Radio And Television] has reported, Italian foreign minister and prime minister designate Giulio Andreotti raised the "question of Yugoslavia", a country which he said was passing through "an acute economic crises."

Andreotti warned the summit participants that, at a time when ways and forms of assisting the countries of Eastern Europe were being studied, it was not possible to leave aside Yugoslavia. He recalled that "Yugoslavia embarked on a road of reforms much before the Eastern European countries, and that back at a time when Stalin, and not Gorbachev, was at the head of the USSR."

The Paris summit participants, according to RAI, accepted the Italian delegation's argumentation and decided to devote attention to Yugoslavia's case, too, in the economic section of their conclusions. The final document adopted by the heads of state or government of the United States, Canada, Italy, Great Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan, and France draws attention to the disturbing economic situation in Yugoslavia in item 25 of the chapter "general developmental problems." It lends support to the Yugoslav Government in the energetic implementation of a programme of reforms, which it says can receive "bilateral and mulitlateral" support.

Egypt's Al-Majid Arrives on Official Visit

LD1607150489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1354 GMT 16 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Jul (TANJUG)—Ahmad 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid, Egyptian deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, arrived today on an official visit to Yugoslavia. With his host Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, he is to discuss the development of bilateral relations, the preparations for the ninth nonaligned summit, and current Middle East developments.

At Belgrade airport, Al-Majid was welcomed by Loncar and a group of official from the federal secretariat for foreign affairs.

The first ministerial dialogue will take place this evening and there will be another meeting tomorrow.

During his 24-hour stay in Belgrade, the Egyptian minister of foreign affairs is expected to meet with SFRY Presidency President Janez Drnovsek and Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic.

Loncar, Al-Majid Hold Talks

LD1607190289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1642 GMT 16 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Jul (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia and Egypt have similar opinions on the perspectives, future activity, and role of the Nonaligned Movement in world affairs—this was made apparent in today's talks between the heads of diplomatic service of the two countries, Budimir Loncar and Ahmat 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid, who arrived on an official 24-hour visit to Yugoslavia.

It was assessed that the traditionally good relations between Yugoslavia and Egypt had recently been intensified. This is also a result of quicker changes in international relations, while an additional stimulus for this dialogue is provided by the upcoming ninth nonaligned summit in Belgrade.

Urged by the coming nonaligned summit due to begin in the beginning of September in Belgrade, Loncar and Al-Majid devoted special attention to the present preparations for and the content of this meeting. The two ministers share the view that the nonaligned summit will represent not only a new challenge, but also an opportunity for the movement to resolutely embark on its modernization to become a highly effective factor in world relations.

The modernization of the movement, in terms of its comprehensive adjustment to the modern international trends, was therefore considered in detail, and the Egyptian party supported the concept that the federal secretary for foreign affairs presented on behalf of Yugoslavia.

Wishing to hear the views of such an important partner among the nonaligned as Egypt on the draft documents that Yugoslavia has prepared for the summit—which will be distributed among all the nonaligned countries not later than one month before the beginning of the conference—Loncar spoke in detail about their content and form. Ahmad Ismat 'Abd al-Majid, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs of Egypt, confirmed that Cairo agreed with Belgrade's stance in this respect.

Loncar and his guest also had talks on other relevant international questions for the September meeting of the nonaligned, such as the latest development of the crisis in the Middle East, the situation in Lebanon, economic problems, and other things.

Loncar wanted to draw attention to the fact that Yugoslavia attaches special significance to the return of Egypt to the Arab League and in this way in practical terms to the center of the main events in the Middle East.

Al-Majid provided information on the forthcoming OAU summit, at which, it is expected, the Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak will be elected OAU president.

The two ministers likewise agreed that special attention should be devoted to the economic problems of nonaligned and developing countries, and the highest priority in the actions of the movement should be devoted to the North-South dialogue. In this connection, there was also discussion of the recent initiative of four countries (Egypt, India, Venezuela, Senegal) in Paris to organize such a dialogue.

It was also said that the nonaligned must to this end strengthen cooperation and dialogue with the key factors outside the Nonaligned Movement.

The talks between Loncar and al-Majid and their colleagues will resume tomorrow with consideration of the scope for further improving relations between Yugoslavia and Egypt.

Loncar, Al-Majid Conclude Talks

LD1707144889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1221 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, July 17 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia and Egypt will boost the existing industrial and technological cooperation by developing higher forms of cooperation, it was said here today during the closing talks between the two countries' foreign ministers, Budimir Loncar and 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid.

Egyptian Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister al-Majid, who yesterday arrived on an official visit, is to meet with Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic later today.

Loncar and Al-Majid said that the two countries' trade increased in the first five months of this year, and that Yugoslavia's surplus has been reduced. Expressing satisfaction with such a trend, al-Majid promised he would look into the problem of Yugoslav firms' outstanding debts with Egyptian partners.

Loncar informed his Egyptian counterpart that Yugoslavia has done everything necessary for the signing of an agreement on the exchange of convicts, under which they would serve their sentences in their respective countries.

Al-Majid promised his country would also complete the necessary documents, so that the agreement might be signed soon.

It has been learned unofficially that the agreement might be signed this year, and it could have concrete results almost immediately—mainly concerning a Yugoslav sailor who is in an Egyptian prison charged with drug smuggling.

Al-Majid said the sailor will be treated better and that he will be under doctors' care until the agreement is signed.

The two ministers' yesterday discussed international questions of mutual interest and today's talks focused on North-South cooperation.

Loncar and al-Majid stressed the importance of the initiatives launched by Egypt, India, Venezuela and Senegal for talks between the developed and undereveloped countries and for talks on cooperation between the non-aligned and the most developed countries.

The two ministers also discussed the forthcoming meeting of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) at which Egyptian President Husni Mubarak is to take the chair.

Loncar and al-Majid also reviewed the developments in the Middle East, the situation in Lebanon, and Egypt's role in the Arab world after returning to the Arab League.

Al-Majid Meets Markovic, Departs

LD1707195389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1718 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Jul (TANJUG)—President of the Yugoslav State Presidency Dr Janez Drnovsek on Monday received Egyptian Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid discussed with him the further promotion of relations and coordination, especially economic, between the two countries.

They also discussed preparations for the ninth nonaligned summit in Belgrade next September, stressing the need for closer Yugoslav-Egyptian cooperation in this field.

Dr Meguid announced Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak's forthcoming arrival in Belgrade for the nonaligned summit.

The Egyptian visitor was today also received by Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic. In the ensuing talk, they noted the existing very good political relations between Yugoslavia and Egypt, but said that intensified efforts to promote and expand economic cooperation by developing its more advance forms on a longterm and lasting basis would be in the interests of both sides.

Markovic and Al-Majid also noted that preparations for the ninth nonaligned summit in Belgrade were proceeding according to the established programme, which creates ambitions for success of this important meeting. The summit should give priority to international economic relations and problems, they pointed out.

It was also agreed that mutually acceptable solutions to some problems in Yugoslav-Egyptian economic cooperation should be found as soon as possible.

Dr al-Majid ended his official visit to Yugoslavia and left today. [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1454 GMT on 17 July reports Al-Majid's departure, adding the following: "At Surcin airport the Egyptian Foreign Minister was seen off by Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar and his aides]

Party Official Comments on Kadar's Funeral

AU1507154289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1038 GMT 15 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 15 (TANJUG)—Janos Kadar was one of the most prominent figures of Hungary's recent history and the international workers' movement, Executive Secretary of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee Presidency Stanislav Stojanovic said.

Stojanovic attended the funeral of the former Hungarian leader together with member of the LCY Central Committee Presidency Stanko Radmilovic.

In a short interview to the Budapest daily NEPSZABADSAG, Stojanovic said that Yugoslavia highly values Kadar's efforts in developing goodneighbourly ties between the two countries. Kadar and President Tito laid the foundations of stable and friendly cooperation between Hungary and Yugoslavia and it is our duty to continue on this path, he said.

The Hungarian press today writes extensively about yesterday's burial of the man who had left his imprint on an important period in the country's history. Recalling the recent reburial of former Prime Minister Imre Nagy, MAGYAR HIRLAP says that both Kadar and Nagy were sons of the same nation and that both funerals served the purpose of national reconciliation. "They were both historic personages: Nagy because he accepted the impossible and Kadar because he undertook the possible," the daily says.

Loncar Interviewed by Indian Paper on Nonaligned

LD1607152589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1321 GMT 16 Jul 89

[Text] New Delhi, 16 Jul (TANJUG)—The creative approach and specific initiatives of nonaligned countries may contribute to a joint international action for resolving te world's greatest problems. The Nonaligned Movement ought, therefore, to stimulate a dialogue between "all factors in the world" to install more just and more progressive international relations.

Budimir Loncar, federal secretary of foreign affairs, said this in an interview published in today's edition of the Indian daily PATRIOT.

Loncar was presented to Indian readers as a former partisan and experienced diplomat, "who will certainly play an important role as the presiding member of the nonaligned ministerial coordinating committee" when Yugoslavia becomes the presiding member of the movement after the September summit.

The head of the Yugoslav diplomatic service told PATRIOT that the sphere of action of the Nonaligned Movement was expanding and that in no case one could see its role being diminished. "The things that have been created for decades and even centuries can be destroyed in as little as few years. When a fire breaks out, all means available must be deployed without hesitation," Loncar replied to a question about the strategy for resolving the world's most important issues. These issues, according to him, include disarmament, the threats of force, interference with other countries' internal affairs, unequal international economic relations, and underdevelopment.

Stressing that every strategy for solving these problems must inevitably be a long-term one, Loncar pointed to hunger in some developing countries as a problem which cannot be put off.

With negotiations between the superpowers and the beginning of disarmament and better understanding, mankind is entering a new era characterized by a growing consciousness of mutual interdependence between all countries in the world—Loncar said.

Answering a question about "the wave of changes in the East Europe," the Yugoslav federal secretary assessed that "there is no alternative for reforms, glasnost, and perestroyka, no matter how we interpret these terms, if we wish to create such a world which man deserves and which is capable of finding answers to the challenges of the present juncture with a human being at the center of attention."

Loncar maintains that one could not possibly say that the blocs are disappearing, but it is becoming clear that neither peace nor security can be based on the so-called balance of force and that even great powers are no longer capable of realizing their mutual detente without the contribution of the whole international community.

"I am not a pessimist. On the contrary. I want to say that the new era should imply the warranties of universality, the awareness that there is only one world and that relations in it must be fully democratized, particularly in today's most painful sphere—international economy—Budimir Loncar said in an interview to PATRIOT.

Media Makes Preparations for Nonaligned Summit

AU1407212189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1754 GMT 14 Jul 89

["Media Preparations for Nonaligned Summit"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, July 14 (TANJUG)—The world public's interest in Yugoslavia and the movement of nonaligned countries has steadily been growing. So far, 250 newsmen from 38 countries have announced their arrival in Belgrade for the 9th nonaligned summit. The Belgrade summit will, at the same time, be covered by around 1,500 Yugoslav reporters and cameramen, as Tihomir Ilijevski, head of the Sub-commission for Information of the federal government's commission in charge of preparations for the 9th nonaligned summit, to be held in Belgrade from September 4 to 7, stated today.

Speaking at a session of the Socialist Alliance of Yugoslavia Board for the Mass Media and Information Activities, Ilijevski set out that the media should devote special attention to the economic cooperation of the nonaligned, human rights, disarmament, terrorism and broader issues facing mankind, such as ecology.

It was established at the board's session that the Yugoslav media are ready for the upcoming nonaligned summit.

Regional Cooperation With Italy, Austria

AU1507162689 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1519 GMT 15 Jul 89

["Border Regions Cooperate in Field of Information"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Ljubljana, July 15 (TANJUG)—President of the Republic of Slovenia's parliament Miran Potrc today hosted a meeting of the editors-in-chief of major news, radio and TV houses from Slovenia, Friuli-Venezia Giulia, and Carinthia.

The meeting was also attended by president of the Carinthian Land Council Adam Unterrieder and vice president of the Council of Friuli-Venezia Giulia Paolo Braida.

The meeting concentrated on the possible regular informing of the general public about major events, processes and phenomena in the field of culture, ecology, economy, transportation, and tourism.

President of Slovenia's Committee on Information Marjan Siftar stressed that the news agencies TANJUG, ANSA and APA should set up a standing mechanism of inter-regional cooperation.

Russian Republic Agrees to Cooperation Committee

LD1307161989 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1348 GMT 13 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, July 13 (TANJUG)—A mixed committee for economic cooperation between the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia and the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR) will be set up this summer.

It was agreed at today's meeting between Soviet ambassador to Yugoslavia, Vladimir Loginov and the Foreign Relations Secretary of the Republic of Serbia, Dr Aleksandar Prlja that the two sides choose the committee's co-presidents this month.

Aleksandar Prlja informed Ambassador Loginov of the immediate necessity to take measures aimed at preventing Yugoslavia's current surplus in trade with the Soviet Union to endanger the further expansion of economic and industrial cooperation. He noted that an additional program of measures, which would facilitate the overcoming of the current situation in keeping with the agreements reached during Soviet state and party leader Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Yugoslavia last year, should be drawn up before RSFSR President Vlasov's upcoming visit to Serbia.

During his meeting with Dr Prlja today, Ambassador Loginov reiterated the invitation to Serbian Presidency President Slobodan Milosevic to visit the RSFSR at the time which suits him most.

Zelenovic Speaks on Arrival in Buenos Aires

LD0707225489 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1900 GMT 7 Jul 89

["Pool" item]

[Text] Buenos Aires, July 7 (TANJUG)—One of the central objectives of this September's summit of Non-Aligned countries in Belgrade is for the movement to be given new content, member of the Yugoslav Presidency, Dragutin Zelenovic, said at Buenos Aires airport, where he was welcomed by Argentinian President Raul Alfonsin.

Zelenovic said the Non-Aligned Movement would make efforts for the settlement of global questions, such as the lessening of tension, the spread of dialogue in the world and the problem of external debts.

Alfonsin said Yugoslavia and Argentina enjoyed very fruitful cooperation within the Non-Aligned Movement.

Zelenovic will represent Yugoslavia's collective state presidency at tomorrow's ceremonial transfer of power from Argentian President Raul Alfonsin to the country's new head of state, Peronist Carlos Menem, who won the elections in May this year.

The ceremony is also being attended by President of Peru Alan Garcia, Brazil's Jose Sarney, Nicaragua's Daniel Ortega, Panama's Manuel Solis Palma, Uruguay's Julio Maria Sanguinetti and Paraguay's Andres Rodriguez.

The takeover in Argentina's highest office will also be attended by representatives of many other countries.

Knin Leadership on Kosovo Battle Anniversary

AU1507141189 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Jul 89 p 4

[M.C. report: "Knin Leadership Is of Opinion That Celebration Had Yugoslav Character"]

[Text] Knin, 10 Jul—Following yesterday's celebration of the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo in Dalmatian Kosovo near Lazarica Church, the Knin political leadership issued a statement saying that the celebration demonstrated good cooperation between all involved. The statement stresses that the celebration program was substantive and that it had a general Yugoslav character. Among other things, the statement points out that the program was interrupted by an incident caused by, as the statement puts it, "some destructive individuals and groups."

Croatia's Latin on Knin

LD1607191389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0708 GMT 16 Jul 89

[Text] Zagreb, 16 Jul (TANJUG)—The nationalist incidents during the celebration of the 6th centenary of the battle in the Knin area of Kosovo have impaired, to a great extent, the political situation in the socialist republic of Croatia and in Yugoslavia. The price of all the things that happened is so high that it is necessary to put things back in order as soon as possible so all of us can return to the effective implementation of reformist tasks.

The President of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, Ivo Latin, said this last night in an interview with Zagreb television as he elaborated on the celebration in Knin and the present reactions among the politically-aware public in the wake of it.

Latin stressed that the competent organs and organizations in the Socialist Republic of Croatia had made every effort to ensure the dignity and grandeur of the celebration. Nevertheless, Latin made it clear, it had not proceeded along these lines because certain groups, with their agressively nationalist symbols, icons, conduct, and statements, decorated this dignified gathering and rally with the things that bore a horrifying resemblance to certain times that we have long left behind us. I must say clearly, it resembled the Cetnik times, the time of provoking national and religious hatred, something that in fact challenges the general foundations of our socialist Yugoslavia.

The situation threatened at moments to deteriorate into the most severe confrontations, which could have had tragic consequences. Had we not carried out all the necessary preparations, Latin said, I believe that the 2-day rally would not have ended as it did, but the personal security and possessions of the people there were protected.

Pointing out that the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, as the responsible constitutional body, had discussed all these events, Latin stressed that apart from condemning the nationalist incidents, there was also gratitude to most people at the celebration, who reacted on the spot in such a way that the dignity of the jubilee was saved.

The Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Croatia takes the stand that none of those who behaved in an unacceptable way, threatened public peace and order, and bothered others should remain unpunished. The security organs and the organs of prosecution and later on judiciary, are duty-bound by the constitution and law. They are independent in carrying out their tasks and should be left alone to do their job.

Beside such authorities of the organs on the territory of the socialist republic of Croatia, the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Croatia is insisting that the organs in the other republics and provinces are also duty-bound to treat in the same way those who visited the Knin area and who must bear responsibility for violating the peace, and dignity of such a great gathering.

One of the stances of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, Ivo Latin went on, is that we will also acquaint the SFRY Presidency and the Federal Executive Concil with our stances and assessments—something we have already done. On the basis of the documents which have also been sent to them, they should see, in the framework of their competence, what should be done in the country so that such a thing will never be repeated.

There is a need for special political activity through all sociopolitical organizations, because if due attention is not paid to this and if many things which have been happening in Knin are not clarified, this could become a reason for possible fresh expressions of similar tendencies. The worst thing for each person and for each nation would be for them to continue to quarrel among themselves, be separated from each other and drift apart from each other.

The president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Croatia also analyzed the reactions to the numerous meetings of sociopolitical organizations which are under way. The human orientations predominate, Latin stressed, that no one, either in this republic or in other parts of the country has the right to do anything which could irritate other nationalities and which is an attack on brotherhood and unity, togetherness, and our life together regardless of their nation or nationality.

News coming from other parts of the country of condemnations of such behaior is also encouraging. Not only in the Knin region but in many areas in the Socialist Republic of Croatia, Serbs, Croatians and others really have been living in harmony, accompanied by full mutual understanding, Latin stressed.

Now we have suddenly reached a situation where we must talk and where we are all together burdened by what has been imposed on us. I maintain, Latin added, that all of this would not have come about had not these phenomena been imported with ill-disposed and hostile impulses and goals which in this instance even came to Knin.

Basically, their goal was the destruction of this unity and the socialist human orientation for Serbs and Croats to live together; and in this way a direct attack was made on the fundamental bases of the federative and socialist Yugoslavia which we have opted for. And this is not to mention all those slogans and songs and some articles which directly insulted president Tito, and the insults to the noblest wishes for life together, especially by the founding of the association "Zora" ["Dawn"]. This in itself showed who the ringleader was and who in the Knin region exploited the presence of those who came to the celebrations.

The Socialist Republic of Croatia has rich experience from a not so distant time, in the 1970's, when it was precisely the Croatian people who set the basic mood for the condemnation of, and the break with, Croatian nationalism. The mood at the meetings which are now being held, where Serbs predominate in the Socialist Republic of Croatia shows that it will be there, and must be there, that the solution will be found for holding these greater Serbian excesses in check. This has begun to bring virtually everything into question, where peaceful life together in this region is concerned. After all, every nationalism, if it harms anyone, harms above all its own nation.

Albanian 'Separatists' of Besa Group Sentenced

LD1407201489 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1354 GMT 14 Jul 89

[Excerpts] Bitola, 14 Jul (TANJUG)—The district court in Bitola today sentenced 10 Albanian separatists and nationalists from the Besa illegal irredentist group, founded 3 years ago in Medzitlija village. The five-man criminal council, presided over by judge Mihajlo Simonovski, after a several-days-long main hearing and presentation of evidence, found that members of this enemy group committed a series of criminal acts from the position of Albanian nationalism and irredentism in the period between May 1986 and January 1989 on the territory of the Bitola municipality. [passage omitted]

The convicted men were sentenced to the following terms of imprisonment: Nedzip Dzemailovski to 5 and ½ years; Usein Useinovski and Vetni Useinovski to 4 and ½ years; Djain Useinovski to 4 years; Medin Dzemaili and Amet Useinovski to 3 years; Skender Dzemaili to 3 and ½ years; Baskim Memedovski and Dasmir Sadikov to 18 months; and Pasa Kamberovski to 1 year of imprisonment.

Until the final sentence is reached, the 10 members of the enemy group will remain in detention in Bitola jail.

Further Report

AU1407210289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1728 GMT 14 Jul 89

["Group of Albanian Nationalists and Separatists Receive Prison Sentences"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Bitola, July 14 (TANJUG)—Ten Albanian nationalists and separatists, members of the illegal group "Besa", were sentenced to prison terms of 1 to 5 years by the court in Bitola, town in the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

The court has established that the members of the illegal group "Besa", formed in the village of Medzitlija near Bitola 3 years ago, had committed a series of criminal acts from the positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism on the territory of the Bitola commune in the period between May 1986 and January this year.

The court has established that the ten defendants, nine from the village of Medzitlija and one from Bitola, formed the illegal group "Besa" in the village of Medzitlija in May 1988.

Shortly after forming the illegal group, the ten demolished a bust of a local World-War-II revolutionary in the town's park, near the sports centre, and in a number of places in the town inscribed slogans and put up leaflets of a nationalist content. In January this year, they removed the Yugoslav flag from a local school building and burned it.

The ten sentenced members of the illegal group "Besa" will remain under detention at the Bitola prison until the final sentences take effect.

Kosovo Polje League Expels 28 People

LD1407224789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1624 GMT 14 Jul 89

[Text] Kosovo Polje, 14 Jul, (TANJUG)—The municipal committee of the Kosovo Polje League of Communists [LC] today expelled 28 people from the LC. It issued pre-expulsion warnings to three people, and warnings to two others.

It also established the responsibility of five LC members [for Kosovo events], most of whom are former directors of collectives in Kosove Polje. The municipal committee of Kosovo Polje meted out these measures because these LC members were prominent in past hostile events in Kosovo, and because of their opportunism and resistance to ideopolitical differentiation.

1991 Census May Address Ethnic Issues

LD1507053489 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0310 GMT 15 Jul 89

[By Milena Zukovic]

[Text] Belgrade, July 15 (TANJUG)—Although the next population census in Yugoslavia will be conducted in 1991, preparations for it are already well under way in order to eliminate certain deficiencies which showed up in the last census, eight years ago.

A new federal law, the draft of which has been submitted by the government to the Yugoslav Assembly for adoption, will regulate the methodology of the census in a uniform manner.

Nevertheless, certain old dilemmas have again come into the limelight and provoked debates in various forums and in the press. One of them is what will be the status of those who will state in the census their nationalities as "Yugoslavs" in multinational Yugoslavia, where various nationalism have been on the increase lately.

Chances are that the next census will follow all the previous ones in not recognizing Yugoslavianism as an ethnic or national affiliation. However, as representatives of the Yugoslav Statistical Association explained at the recent first official meeting devoted to the census, there will alongside the "ethnically unresolved" entry also be one reading "Yugoslav,"—but "Yugoslavs" cannot be treated as a nation, as the existing Constitution does not provide for this possibility.

However, according to the findings of some opinion polls, there wopuld be more citizens today who could give their national affiliation as "Yugoslavs" than the 1.2 million who did so in 1981. In the view of many sociologists, the process of ethnogenesis in Yugoslavia has not been completed and the feelings of so many people who regard themselves first and foremost as Yugoslavs, and not as Serbs, Slovenes, Macedonians, Croatians or others, cannot be simply ignored.

There is a growing number of those who hold that it is wrong to interpret Yugoslavianism as a nation above all others desiring supremacy, which is inconsistent with the basic concept of the Yugoslav federation—equal rights for all nations and nationalities. Moreover, many believe that in the growingly tense ethnic relations in Yugoslavia, Yugoslavianism could serve as an integratory factor and that it does not represent a negation of nations but just the opposite—a negation of separatisms and nationalisms.

Another interesting question is whether the census should also probe into the religious affiliations of the population. Statisticians, for operational reasons, maintain that such an entry should not included, as there exists a high level of correlation between ethnic and religious affiliation in Yugoslavia. Besides this, under the Yugoslav Constitution, faith is a private affair of the individual.

However, these two categories cannot be regarded as equal in any way, given the large number of atheists in the country and the considerable number (about 50) of small religious communities in Yugoslavia. It is pointed out that equating the ethnc and the religious could well place all Yugoslavs, even Communists, into the three largest religious groups (the Catholic, Eastern Orthodox and Muslim faiths) regardless of their own free will. Among the five post-war censuses (1948, 1953, 1961, 1971 and 1981), only in 1953 was the population counted as regards their religious affiliation.

There also exists a proposal for Romanies to be threated in the next census as a nationality and not an ethnic group. Viewed according to the international nomenclature, Romanies are the only true nationality in Yugoslavia, the others being national minorities, as their nations of origin constitute the populations of other countries. No "national minority" category exists in Yugoslavia—

the members of other nations who live here have the status of nationalities, which emphasizes their absolute equality with all the other citizens of the country.

This illogicality, together with some others, could well be removed in the forthcoming changes in the Yugoslav Constitution.

YPA's Mirkovic Visits Kosovo Construction Site

LD1507192389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1517 GMT 15 Jul 89

[Excerpts] Dragas, 15 Jul (TANJUG)—Helping the population, especially when help is most needed, the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] continually reaffirms its people's character. It is also reaffirming it at present during the construction of the Strezimir-Dragas road, which goes through crags between Mt Sara and Korab, and opens "a window to the world" for about 18,000 inhabitants of the most distant places in Kosovo. This was stated today by Colonel General Stevan Mirkovic, chief of the general staff of the SFRY Armed Forces during a meeting with members of the sapper units of the 3d Army District, who have been building the Serup-Restelica section of the road since 1 July. Col Gen Mirkovic, accompanied by Lieutenant Colonel General Zivota Avramovic, commander of the 3d Army District, and Major General Andrija Silic, commander of the Pristina Corps, toured the construction site and held talks with cadets, officers, and local people. [passage omitted]

The talks between Col Gen Mirkovic and the leadership of the local community were also attended by Nedzair Murati, president of the Kosovo Assembly's Sociopolitical Chamber, who stressed that the Army, while helping the people, considerably contributes to the stabilization of the situation in the province. He said that the Dragas-Strezimir road, which is being built by YPA members, is of particular economic and political importance because it links Kosovo and Macedonia, and considerably shortens the road from Dragas to Gostivar.

Kosovo Turk Complains of Ethnic Albanian Pressure

AU1507205889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1828 GMT 15 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, July 15 (TANJUG)—The problem of the exodus of the Turkish population from Kosovo has remained in the shadows of the moving out of Serbs and Montenegrins from this Yugoslav province within the Republic of Serbia, Sakir Maksut, member of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo, told the daily BORBA in an interview published on Saturday.

Without denying that the biggest problem of the Kosovo crisis was the moving out of Serbs and Montenegrins under pressure from Albanian separatists and chauvinists, Maksut stressed that the Turkish problem should not be neglected, even more so since the majority of the Turks were moving to another country—Turkey.

Although the reasons for the exodus of the Turks from Kosovo are most often economic, of late, many of them have listed the overall political situation as the primary reason when submitting their requests for moving out, Maksut said.

Turks have recently also more and more frequently become the target of Albanian separatists, who are striving for an ethnically pure province, its secession from Yugoslavia, and annexation to Albania, he added.

Maksut considers that the strategy of the Albanian separatists in Kosovo is calculated above all at the assimilation of Turks and that they are counting on the achievement of their goal being facilitated by the same religion, similar customs, and broad family ties.

Maksut recalled that, in contrast to the Republic of Macedonia, where the majority of nearly 102,000 members of the Turkish nationality in Yugoslavia live, the existence of Turks in Kosovo was not acknowledged until 1951.

This resulted in the mass exodus of Turks in the 1950s, mostly to Turkey, so that their numbers in the province dropped from 34,583 in 1953 to around 13,000 in the last 1981 census.

The rights of the Turkish minority in Kosovo to free development, expression of national characters, language, culture, history, and other characteristics were recognized in 1951.

Despite this, Maksut said, Albanian chauvinists and separatists have never stopped negating the existence of Turks in Kosovo. The latest escalation of Albanian separatism since 1981 has led even to the closing down of Turkish schools in several towns in the province, he added.

According to him, there has been negligence on the use of the Turkish language and alphabet on an equal footing, the hoisting of flags, and even incidents which directly offend the national feelings of Turks, Maksut said.

The Kosovo official for this reason urged that more attention be devoted in the country to the problem of Albanization and the moving out of Turks from Kosovo, and that an adequate place be found for it in the documents of the Yugoslav Party.

Kosovo's Morina Reiterates Amnesty Proposal

LD1707154189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1104 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 17 Jul (TANJUG)—Rahman Morina, president of Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee Presidium, is urging publicly for the second time in a month, the issue of amnesty and a broader program of resocialisation of the young Albanians, "whose blame least of all is for their rebellion against the society in which they were raised and alone in which they have their perspective."

Morina's initiative, voiced for the first time at a tribune of the Titograd Marxist Center and repeated a few days ago in Pristina at the party provincial committee, has remained—as far as it is known—without any feedback.

The March suggestion by the Yugoslav forum for human rights to the federal, republican, and provincial judicial organ to make a program of resocialization for the young Albanians convicted on criminal and minor offence charges also "rebounded" from the wall of silence.

A great number of them were given draconic sentences in 1981, it is known, while those, whose invisible hands pushed them to hatred and onto streets and, later on to arms, remain unidentified and free.

Morina's idea about mercy for the convicted, which would, according to authorities' assessment, assume an appropriate form—amnesty, pardoning, or something else—resembles the Slovene initiative for amnesty for all those convicted for non-violent political felonies. [passage omitted]

Bosnian Official Comments on Ethnic Strife

AU1407212289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2023 GMT 14 Jul 89

["Divisions on a National Basis Lead to a Breakdown of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Yugoslavia"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Sarajevo, July 14 (TANJUG)—Divisions on a national basis are aimed at the breakdown of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the destruction of its identity, which at the same time means the breakdown of Yugoslavia, Nijaz Durakovic, the Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists Central Committee Presidency president, told journalists here today.

This question is therefore, according to Durakovic, of exceptional political importance today. He said that all citizens of Bosnia-Hercegovina should more energetically and with greater political resolve oppose all kinds of divisions and intolerance and that there sould be no compromises.

The republic's four million population is made up of Moslems, Serbs and Croats and around 30 percent of marriages are mixed, which, in Durakovic's view, represented the ultimate cultural and civilizational achievement. Without such a republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina there can be no Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, he added.

Bosnia-Hercegovina's Durakovic Speaks to Newsmen

LD1407230189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1409 GMT 14 Jul 89

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, 14 Jul (TANJUG)—The fundamental concept of a life together, equality, brotherhood, and unity in Bosnia-Hercegovina implies that the life together is a cultural and civilizational achievement. Today, in a situation in which almost 30 percent of marriages are mixed, when women giving birth are not separated according to their nationalities, and when graveyards are mixed, I view efforts to breed discord on national basis as a direct attack aimed at dismantling Bosnia-Hercegovina.

This was said by Nijaz Durakovic, president of the Presidium of the Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists [LC] Central Committee in the course of today's talks with journalists. Negation of Bosnia-Hercegovina's identity, he stressed, of its historical uniqueness is in fact, whether or not one wants to admit it, dismantling of Yugoslavia as a socialist federative, equal, and fraternal community of nations and nationalities.

Some say that this is a false avantguardism, but without this Bosnia-Hercegovina, Durakovic believes, there cannot be socialist federative Yugoslavia. If the concept of the life together, equality, and fraternity is invalidated in Bosnia, then how can we talk about some integrated fraternal Yugoslav community? [passage omitted]

Nijaz Durakovic also talked about the current trends within the LC. It is true, he assessed, that workers are leaving the LC, but not just them. According to him, it is even more disturbing that young people are leaving the party and that they are increasingly less interested to join the LC. If this trend continues, the LC will not have the future, because it is biologically getting old. [passage omitted] Nijaz Durakovic also replied to the questions about the events at the beginning of seventies in the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC. He stressed that looking at the seventies at this point in time is useless and unproductive. Durakovic believes that at this time, we should look at the past only if can draw some lessons from it for a next political action.

According to him, rehabilitaiton of Osman Karabegovic is pointless, because he has been rehabilitated already. Rehabilitation of Avdo Humo, who has died in the meantime, has not been brought to the end, so it is under way presently, although Durakovic distances himself from the word rehabilitation by pointing that he is using it for the lack of a better word. He said that no disciplinary measure in the LC were meted out to Hajro Kaetanovic, and that there is no need for his rehabilitation. The president of the Presidium of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee believes that the Central Committee should ask the next, 10th congress of the Bosnia-Hercegovina to alter or annul a measure meted out to Cedo Kapor, and that his party years of service are acknowledged and that he is returned to the LC. [passage omitted]

Markovic Meets With Serbian Representatives

LD1407140189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1237 GMT 14 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Jul (TANJUG)—Talks were held today in the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, between rep,resentatives of the Socialist Republic and the FEC [Federal Executive Committee] including FEC President Ante Markovic.

The talks covered issues regarding further development of the economic system, and current and development economic policy.

It was jointly assessed that further efforts of our society must be channeled energetically into changes which would ensure more complex market activity and into curbing inflation, since halting inflation is one of the most important preconditions for a successful way out of the economic crisis.

The talks noted that the current problems regarding adoption of the federal budget can be overcome in a regular procedure.

Economic Welfare Topic at TU Council Meeting

Low Standard of Living Discussed

AU1407201289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1851 GMT 14 Jul 89

["The Future of Yugoslavia's Economic Reform Depends on the Workers' Standard of Living—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, July 14 (TANJUG)—The future of Yugoslavia's economic reform will be brought into question unless the right measures are taken to protect the workers' standard of living, which has deteriorated, it was said at a session of the Council of the Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia here today.

The members of the highest Trade Union body stressed that they expect the federal government's new economic model to also contain a new model of social welfare policy.

Council President Andjelko Vasic warned of the serious position of the working class, adding that 80 percent of the average monthly salary in Yugoslavia (just above 180 U.S. Dollars in April) covered only the bare necessities for a family of four.

Vasic also said that the salaries of two-thirds of the workers in the social sector, which employs 6.722 million of the country's total 6.891 million employed, were below the average monthly salary in the country.

Vasic said that the Yugoslav government should also implement effective social welfare measures and that funds should be secured for them mainly through changes in the taxation system and policy.

Workers are demanding radical changes, Vasic said, recalling that the economic reform is acceptable only to materially and socially motivated enterprises.

Vasic also said that the Trade Union supports the government's stand that salaries should not be limited through administrative measures, but stressed that the system of distribution should be improved as soon as possible.

Serbian Unions Call for Reform

AU1507163689 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1558 GMT 15 Jul 89

["Serbian Trade Union on Reform"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, July 15 (TANJUG)—The consequences of the long-term economic crisis demand urgent reforms of trade unions. The reform of trade unions means it becoming independent of the state and having a clearly defined relationship with the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY), president of the Council of the Trade Union Organization of Serbia Tomislav Milenkovic said, opening a session of the organization. The session was devoted to preparations of the draft of the reform of the Serbian Trade Union Organization.

The Trade Union must be an independent and autonomous socio-political organization which will fight for realizing the interests of the working class within socialist pluralism, Milenkovic said. The Trade Union supports market economy but not the current relations within it, where European price of goods and African price of labour rule. The Trade Union demands the European price of labour for European productivity.

The Trade Union must fight for a collective agreement and right to strike which will be legally sanctioned, Milenkovic said.

The Serbian Trade Union today demanded that the Yugoslav Government urgently adopt special anti-inflation measures which would yield results in a shorter period. Failing such measures, the reform of the Yugoslav economy will not be successful.

Belgrade SAWP Conference on Propaganda

LD1407225689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1545 GMT 14 Jul 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 14 Jul (TANJUG)—The growth and exacerbation of propaganda against Serbia is assuming unexpected proportions, Dragan Tomic, president of the Belgrade Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] city conference, said at today's Presidium session. Initiating a debate on the controlling and constitutional role of the SAWP as the broadest democratic organization, Tomic pointed to its need for reacting quickly and effectively to crucial and topical problems in society.

In this context, Tomic drew attention to, as he put it, the unjustified and fierce criticism in some other environments aimed against the celebration at Gazi Mestan. At the same time, according to Tomic, the attacks on relations between the Serbian state and the Orthodox Church followed, although this is just a liberation from the dogmas and the sectarian attitudes toward the church. Tomic said that a whole nation is being insulted from nationalist positions and that the "words of peace" of Slobodan Milosevic were rendered as a speech of dispute and aggression.

Many attacks on the Serbian leadership are aspiring to constitute themselves as an opposition for alternative policies, Zoran Todorovic maintained. He said that this includes the defeated forces from the eighth session of the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee, separatists from all over Yugoslavia, the advocates of fascism, and the attackers against the Yugoslav People's Army.

The majority of speakers today spoke about the exacerbation in the propaganda war in the Yugoslav media.

In Dusan Mitevic's opinion, this war cannot be stopped by any sort of appeals. Mitevic believes that this is not a matter of the media but that the leaders of some areas are inciting divisions. As an illustration of his statement, Mitevic mentioned the different interpretations of the Gazi Mestan celebration.

Bora Ilic quoted the latest issue of DANAS magazine, which dedicated a number of pages to its malicious criticism of the celebration of the Kosovo battle's anniversary.

A number of Presidium members today expressed disagreement over some stands voiced at the last session of the Belgrade veterans' organization. This refers primarily to the criticism aimed at Matija Beckovic's 7 July Award, POLITIKA'S reporting, and the new attitude toward the church. In Slobodan Jovanovic's opinion, Stanko Matijasevic, who was the first in the city board of the federation of veterans' associations to set in motion the initiative against Beckovic's award, is resisting the current policy in Serbia. Replying to such a stance Pero Lalovic, president of the Belgrade veterans' organization, stressed that the city board is not against Matija Beckovic's poetic merits, but that it is rather sensitive to some of his other features. As far as POLITIKA'S reporting is concerned he maintains that a great number of people no longer read it since they think that it has become too narrow and too nationalist. [passage omitted]

At the end of the session, the presidium supported the conclusions of the Belgrade League of Communists city committee from the last session on inflation and the economic situation by joining the criticism aimed at the Federal Executive Council and the reporting on Serbia in some of the press, especially in BORBA. The presidium adopted conclusions regarding the further reform of the Belgrade SAWP.

Slovene Presidium Examines Serbian Situation

LD1407221289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1556 GMT 14 Jul 89

[Excerpt] Ljubljana, 14 Jul (TANJUG)—At today's session of the Slovene League of Communists [LC] Central Committee Presidium, Milos Prosenc, secretary of the Presidium, said that he believes that the report on the work of the Slovene LC between two congresses ought to discuss clearly all the conflicts that have occurred within the Slovene LC and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY]. Prosenc criticized some assessments and stances from yesterday's plenum of the Serbian LC Central Committee on intranational relations, and said that he regrets that the initiatives of the leadership of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia for discussing even the most complicated things through a reasoned democratic dialogue were rejected. "The situation is not good," Prosenc maintains, since the differences of views in Yugoslavia, even those real ones, are immediately being labeled instead of being harmonized.

Prosenc said that the things that were heard and written at yesterday's plenum of the Serbian LC Central Committee on intranational relations do not contribute to the creation of communication channels nor do they enable us to have a mutual rapprochement and avoid the atmosphere of intolerance and mutual reproach. Prosenc maintains that the rejection and conditioning of talks does not provide for the consolidation of stability in the otherwise destabilized Yugoslavia and the necessary degree of unity about the crucial and vital issues of Yugoslavia within the LCY, particularly in the issue of what kind of character our socialism and Yugoslavia should assume.

We are rejecting the accusations that we are not interested in the status of Serbs, Montenegrins, and Albanians in Kosovo, the assertion that the statement from the Cankar Hall amounts to the betrayal of homeland and the allegations that we do not consider Yugoslavia as our homeland, and the accusations against the whole Slovene press for a 2-year long untruthful and tendentious reporting on Serbia and Slovenia, as being insulting, careless, unfounded, and politically extremely damaging, Prosenc said. [passage omitted]